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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 23, 1 December 1982



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# CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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## SOME CURRENT PROBLEMS ON THE IDEOLOGICAL FRONT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 2-22

[Speech by Hu Qiaomu on 8 August 1981 at the forum on problems on the ideological front convened by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee]

[Text] Comrades:

The present forum is coming to an end today. Here, I would like to explain five questions brought up by our comrades in their discussions.

Question No 1: Why is such a forum called after the sixth plenary session? Is it in line with the transmission, discussion and implementation of the guidelines of the sixth plenary session and will it divert the attention of the whole party? Is there any change in the party's policy on ideological and cultural work? It should be answered unequivocally that the present forum represents the implementation of an important aspect of the guidelines of the sixth plenary session. We can even call it an inevitable and necessary continuation of the sixth plenary session. There is no change in the party's policy on ideological and cultural work.

Comrade Xiaoping's informal talk and Comrade Yaobang's speech are both of great importance and I fully endorse them. The content of their informal talk and speech was not confined to a single film script or work relating to literature and art and ideology. It dealt with an important question of principle--the fear of upholding the tradition of criticism and self-criticism--a state of mind which is now fairly commonly found in our party. In our ideological, economic, government and PLA work, we are faced with one and the same question: What should be our attitude toward erroneous ideas of great impact which are found inside and outside the party and the army to a greater or lesser extent? Of course we should conduct education and criticism or even wage a struggle if necessary. The question is whether or not we will do it and whether or not we will do it resolutely.

Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Yaobang both centered their discussion on the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization which goes against the four basic principles and which is found in society (and to some degree also in the party). They pointed out that many comrades and organizations were weak and lax in work and did not exert themselves to combat this erroneous tendency, saying that this state of



affairs must be resolutely put right. Some comrades may ask: Will this be contradictory to the opposition to the "leftist" guiding ideology inside the party which we have always insisted on since the time of the third plenary session up until the sixth plenary session? (Note: When used alone in a derogative sense, "leftist" means sham or ultraleft, not true left. However, when used without the quotation marks, it refers to leftist deviation. Since it is a deviation, it is naturally wrong.) True, since the third plenary session and up until the sixth plenary session, the party Central Committee has devoted much of its effort to rectifying the "leftist" guiding ideology. The communique of the sixth plenary session pointed out: This session has fulfilled the historic mission of setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party. In other words, it has fulfilled the task of rectifying leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology of the party. However, judging from the specific work (ideological work included) done in various fields and in various localities, much remains to be done in our task of rectifying leftist mistakes. Comrade Yaobang had made this quite clear in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. Thus, we should not slacken our efforts in criticizing, rectifying and preventing "leftist" mistakes in the days to come. However, neither the resolution of the sixth plenary session nor the guiding policies formulated by the Central Committee since the third plenary session have set the rectification of the "leftist" guiding ideology and opposition to the social trend of bourgeois liberalization against each other. "Leftist" guiding ideology and the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization both objectively exist and both are endangering our socialist cause. We must wage struggles on both fronts. It will not do to adopt a policy of nonrecognition or noninterference toward either side. The struggles on these fronts also complement each other. Refusal to oppose the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is tantamount to supplying ammunition to those people who stubbornly cling to the "leftist" guiding ideology. "Look, just about everything has come out. These are the splendid things done by the third plenary session." This was how these people incited the masses to oppose the party Central Committee from the time the third plenary session met until after the sixth plenary session. We should neither overestimate nor underestimate the effect of such agitation. The reason is that the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization does in fact exist in society, even in the party, and this kind of ideological trend had never openly asserted itself on an extensive scale during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution." If you are unable to wage a practical and effective struggle against this ideological trend, would it not mean that leftist way of doing things was "more resourceful"? Would it not mean that the "Great Cultural Revolution" did have a "correct side"? Of course this was a kind of sophistry. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was simply unable to solve any ideological problems. Moreover, the present ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is to a very large degree a bitter fruit left by the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was precisely the "Great Cultural Revolution" that caused some inexperienced young people and unstable elements inside the party to breed feelings of skepticism and despair toward the party and socialism. Similarly, if we do not continue to rectify the "leftist" guiding ideology, we will give people who favor bourgeois liberalization an excuse. They would say: "Is there anything left of democracy or the double hundred policy? This is nothing but the old trick of using the big stick, calling people bad names and seizing on other people's mistakes." A handful of people would even fan the flames and say: "Is this not the

dictatorship of the feudal and bureaucratic privileged stratum? Unless we practice a two-party system, allow absolute freedom of speech, of publication, of assembly and of association, and start another revolution, how can China be modernized?" These absurd statements of different natures must be resolutely and thoroughly refuted. However, the "leftist" guiding ideology simply cannot correctly refute anything; it can only intensify many of the contradictions among the people. Some of our well-intentioned comrades are burning with revolutionary indignation toward bourgeois liberalization tendencies. It is completely correct for them to do this. However, because they have not carefully and earnestly studied the new circumstances and have not grasped the new methods for solving the new problems, they tend to follow certain oversimplistic methods which they have used all along. The results may turn out to be contrary to their wishes. It can thus be seen that in our present struggle on the two fronts, it is truly impermissible to ignore either side.

Now a few words on the relationship between the present forum and the resolution of the sixth plenary session. In the resolution of the sixth plenary session, there are many points which are closely related to Comrade Xiaoping's conversation and Comrade Yaobang's speech. For example, article 34 of the resolution says: Without the CCP, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the CCP, there would be no modern socialist China. Without the unified and strong leadership of the CCP, our country would inexorably fall apart and the future of our nation and people would inexorably be forfeited. The party leadership has committed mistakes. However, no one should use this as an excuse to weaken, break away from or even sabotage party leadership. That would only lead to grievous disasters. After summing up past experiences, the CCP has come to realize that as long as it constantly improves its leadership and strengthens its ties with the broad masses, it will definitely be able to undertake the tremendous tasks entrusted to it by history. This is part of a very important aspect of the basic points of the resolution. Can we waver over this point? The kernel of the four basic principles is to uphold party leadership; the kernel of bourgeois liberalization, which is opposed to the four basic principles, is to oppose party leadership. This being the case, should we or should we not wage a struggle against this ideological trend? If we do not wage a resolute and correct struggle against this ideological trend, how can we implement the resolution of the sixth plenary session?

Paragraph four of article 35 of the resolution says: "It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate resolution. Otherwise social stability and unity will be jeopardized." This means two things: First, it is necessary to deal with the activities of the hostile elements and other social contradictions, including the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization under different circumstances (any person who is identified with this ideological trend is a representative of bourgeois ideology if he insists on publicizing a programmatic proposition which goes against socialism and party leadership and refuses to correct his mistakes; it makes no difference whether he is a party member).

Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized. Second, it is necessary to work out appropriate resolutions. Otherwise, we will also do harm to social stability and unity.

Paragraph five of article 35 says: "The chaotic situation that prevailed in the 'Great Cultural Revolution' must never again be allowed to occur in any sphere." Paragraph six of the same article also says: "We must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youth in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality" and "must counter the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and the decadent remnants of feudal ideology, overcome the influence of petit-bourgeois ideology and foster the patriotism which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else and the pioneer spirit of selfless devotion to modernization." Paragraph ten goes on to say: "In the light of the lessons of the 'Great Cultural Revolution' and the present situation in the party, it is imperative to build up a sound system of democratic centralism inside the party." In order to achieve "a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy," "we must properly wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome erroneous ideas that deviate from the party's correct principles, uproot factionalism, oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism and eradicate such unhealthy tendencies as the practice of seeking perks and privileges."

Article 36 especially states that we should negate the so-called "continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," a slogan with a special meaning, and negate the theory which calls for the overthrow of one class by another because, as is known to all, this slogan and theory are completely wrong under the conditions of socialism and invite disaster to the state, the people and the party. However, this does not mean that the tasks of the revolution have been accomplished and that there is no need to carry on revolutionary struggles. Our revolutionary tasks are far from accomplished. In a period of peaceful development in building a socialist society, revolution is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and demands that many generations undertake unswerving and disciplined hard work. We must maintain great revolutionary vigilance and be ready at all times to come out boldly to safeguard the interests of the revolution. In other words, we must not only combat sabotage by all kinds of hostile elements, overt and covert, but must combat the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization which are not to be identified with the hostile elements but which nonetheless are opposed to socialism or party leadership.

In short, the resolution of the sixth plenary session not only severely criticized the leftist guiding ideology of the party in the past, particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," but also severely criticized the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization aimed at breaking away from and undermining party leadership and urged us to carry out criticism and self-criticism inside the party on account of this. In his 1 July speech, Comrade Yaobang said: "The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party." "Our main mistake in the past was to engage in excessive struggle and this yielded results contrary to our expectations; people became reluctant to make self-criticism and were afraid to criticize others. We must change this unhealthy tendency." In their informal talk and speech at this forum, Comrade Xiaoping and



Comrade Yaobang again dwelled on this question in particular. This demands that the whole party grasp this question without letup in discussing, transmitting and implementing the resolution of the sixth plenary session.

It must be emphatically pointed out that since the third plenary session, it has been the consistent policy of the party Central Committee to oppose the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and the weakness and laxity shown by some organizations and comrades in dealing with this question. I would like to cite the following examples for the sake of discussion.

In his speech at the meeting to discuss the ideological guidelines for the party's theoretical work held on 30 March 1979, Comrade Xiaoping reiterated the need to uphold the four basic principles. He said: "In our community, a handful of people are now spreading ideas that are either skeptical of or opposed to these four basic principles. Inside our party, there are also a few comrades who not only do not recognize these ideas as dangerous but have given these ideas some degree of support either directly or indirectly. Although these people only constitute a handful both inside and outside the party, we should not underestimate their role because of their small number." He also said: "In publicizing democracy, we must strictly distinguish socialist democracy from bourgeois and individualistic democracy. We must combine democracy for the people with dictatorship over the enemy. We must also combine democracy with centralism, with the legal system, with discipline and with party leadership."

Are these not the questions which we face today?

In his 30 October 1979 congratulatory speech to the fourth national congress of literature and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our writers and artists should help the people attain a higher realm of thought by means of their literary and art creations. They should continue to fight resolutely against the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' They should be clear-headed in handling wrong tendencies which may come from the 'left' or the right to cause trouble in all realms and to violate stability and unity by going against the interests and will of the overwhelming majority of people. By working closely together with those engaged in other branches of work in the ideological field, they should make use of their literary and art creations to create powerful public opinion in society and lead the people in heightening their consciousness, understanding the danger of these wrong tendencies and uniting together to resist, condemn and oppose these wrong tendencies."

This was said in the CCP Central Committee's 31 January 1980 "circular on seriously implementing the guidelines laid down at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles": "We should encourage the writers and artists to take the overall situation into account, keep the cardinal principles in mind, unite together and look forward, oppose extreme individualism, anarchism and factionalism, and eliminate all factors detrimental to unity. In no way should they discard the interests of the people, the state and the party on the grounds that the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' is being carried out. If so, they cannot foster a new generation of socialist-minded people and will divorce themselves from the guiding principles for new socialist-minded people."

On the question of promoting inner-party democracy and taking a correct attitude toward dissenting views, this was said in the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in February 1980: "The principle of the 'three nots' must be strictly enforced--that is, do not seize on another's shortcomings and blow them up, do not put labels on people and do not wield the big stick." What does the "principle of 'three nots'" mean? The "guiding principles" went on to explain: "The 'three nots' forbid the willful exaggeration of anyone's mistakes, cooking up charges against any person and attacking him politically and organizationally and even persecuting him." Here, a clear line has been drawn between normal criticism and wielding the big stick. A year or so has passed since this document was adopted. However, many comrades seem to know nothing about this guideline so that once they hear about criticism, they readily say that others are wielding the big stick. This is the main trend at present. In criticizing this main trend, it should also be admitted that a few comrades have neglected this guideline in another way, that is, they willfully exaggerate other people's mistakes when criticizing them. Though different in form, these two trends actually hinder the normal development of criticism and self-criticism, thereby objectively giving rise to the bourgeois liberalization thinking.

The topic of the ninth point of the "guiding principles" is "fighting against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds." This was said under this topic: "In order to rectify the party's work style, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to establish good social practices and to unite with the people to work concertedly to realize the four modernizations, it is essential to fight against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds.

"Party organizations at all levels should give full play to their role as a combat bastion, lead the rank and file and the masses to resolutely expose and crack down on counterrevolutionaries, grafters and embezzlers, criminals and serious lawbreakers.

"It is necessary to seriously criticize and fight against such erroneous tendencies as factionalism, anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucracy and privilege-seeking.

"It is essential to criticize and struggle against malpractices, erroneous ideas and reactionary trends of thought.

"Party members who play it safe by adopting a liberal attitude toward erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds and ignore them instead of stopping and arguing and fighting against them have neglected their duty as a communist and show their lack of party spirit.

"Party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, in their struggle against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds, should display a dauntless revolutionary spirit and dare to step forward, fearing neither offending others or hurting their feelings or being attacked and persecuted. Only in this way will it be possible to overcome and correct erroneous tendencies, save those who have erred, and punish the evildoers."

Our comrades should ask themselves this question: Has each of us acted in this way?

The tenth point of the "guiding principles" is "adopt a correct attitude toward comrades who have made mistakes." This was said under this topic: "Having clarified the facts, one must make a concrete analysis of the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and, with an enthusiastic and comradely attitude, help them understand the causes for their mistakes, point out the way to correct these mistakes and encourage them to make necessary self-criticism. One should have faith that the majority of erring comrades can correct their mistakes and one should create necessary conditions for them to correct their mistakes and continue to work for the party."

"It is entirely necessary to criticize comrades who have made mistakes. However, in no way should we adopt the method of a 'struggle meeting' at which the masses are aroused to attack the accused from all sides, the accused is not allowed to defend himself and other comrades are also disallowed to express dissenting views, because this method actually works to intimidate the accused by coercion instead of convincing him by reasoning."

On the other hand, "those comrades who have erred should sincerely accept criticism and education from the party organization and comrades and disciplinary actions taken against them. They should learn from their mistakes, conscientiously correct them and improve their service to the party. Those who have committed serious mistakes but refuse to admit them and persist willfully in making trouble should be punished more severely."

These provisions are indeed good ones. We must carry them out wholly and must not "take what we need from them." That is why Comrade Hu Yaobang said: We should carry out appropriate, normal ideological struggle and make essential criticism and self-criticism. The question is not that our party now has not laid down the rules and regulations but that the rules and regulations have not been implemented very well. An important reason for this forum is to show that the CCP Central Committee specially wants to remind all party members that from now on they should comprehensively, seriously and strictly carry out the specifications laid down in the "guiding principles."

Comrade Hu Yaobang delivered a speech at the forum on script writing held in February 1980 under the joint auspices of the Chinese Dramatists Association, the Chinese Writers Association and the Chinese Film Artists Association. This speech was carried in issue No 1 of WEN YI BAO this year. In his speech, he criticized a script which was brought up for discussion. He made this criticism in the spirit of the "guiding principles." The writer of this script was not a party member. Yet, many specifications (such as the "principle of 'three nots'") laid down in the "guiding principles" are actually applicable to both party members and nonparty members.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee held in August 1980: "While eliminating the influence of feudalism remnants in the ideological and political fields, we should never slacken and neglect even slightly our task of criticizing bourgeois ideas and

petit-bourgeois ideas and criticizing extreme individualism and anarchism. The question of whether one is imbued more seriously with feudal remnants or with bourgeois influence should not be handled mechanically because the conditions may vary with people working in different fields or departments, involved in different problems, belonging to different age groups and having different life experiences and educational backgrounds. At the same time, China was a semi-feudal and semicolonial society in the past century where feudalist ideas were sometimes enmeshed with capitalist ideas and colonial slavish ideas. As a result of frequent contacts with foreigners in the past few years, and because of the influence of foreign bourgeois decadent ideas and lifestyles, signs of worshipping and having blind faith in foreign things have shown themselves now and more similar signs will appear in the future. This is a major problem which must be seriously solved.

"China lags behind economically and culturally, but not in other aspects. Some foreign countries are advanced in technological and administrative matters, but not in other matters. Our party and people established the socialist system after fighting selflessly for many years. This system may still be imperfect and suffer from sabotage. However, the socialist system certainly is much better than the capitalist system under which the weak are the prey of the strong and one harms others to benefit oneself. Our system will be improved day by day. It will assimilate the progressive factors of foreign countries and become the best system in the world. This is something which capitalism can never achieve. It is entirely wrong for one to lose one's confidence in socialism and say that capitalism is better than socialism only because we made mistakes in socialist revolution and construction in the past. It is also entirely wrong for one to hold that capitalist ideas should be propagated and put into practice in order to wipe out the influence of feudalist remnants. We must completely criticize these wrong ideas and must never allow them to spread. We advocate the policy of distribution according to work and admit the use of material benefits because we want to fight for the material benefits of the people of the whole country. Everyone should enjoy his share of material benefits. But, this definitely does not mean that everyone may forget the state's, the collective's and other people's interests and fight exclusively for his material benefits and confine his scope of vision to money. Otherwise, what is the difference between socialism and capitalism? We have always maintained that in a socialist society, the fundamental interests of the state, the collective and the individual coincide and, in case there is a contradiction, the interests of the individual should be subordinated to the interests of the state and the collective. All advanced elements who have revolutionary consciousness should, when they are so needed, sacrifice their own interests to defend the interests of the state and the collective and of the people. We must vigorously propagate this noble morality among the people of the whole country and among the young people and children."

In his important speech made at the CCP Central Committee work conference convened in December 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We should continue to develop socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. This has been the Central Committee's firm and unshakable basic principle since the third plenary session that brooks no vacillation even in the future. There are imperfections in our democratic system. We should formulate a series of laws, decrees and regulations in order to systemize and legalize our democracy. Socialist



democracy is inseparable from the socialist legal system. Democracy that casts away the socialist legal system, the party's leadership and discipline and order is not socialist at all. On the contrary, such democracy will only land our country once more in a state of anarchism and make it more difficult to democratize the country, develop the national economy and improve the people's livelihood."

"Under the present circumstances, it is even more necessary to reaffirm and stress the principle that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. We must resolutely oppose any phenomenon of not observing the party, army or government discipline in the party, the army or the government.

"We must strengthen education on discipline and the legal system in party and government organs, the army, enterprises, schools and among all the people. Discipline that is not stipulated or not soundly and reasonably stipulated should promptly be stipulated and improved. The moment a student enters a primary school, a secondary school or a university, a worker enters a factory, a fighter joins the army or a staff member takes up his post, he should learn and observe all the discipline that is required of him. We must resolutely oppose and correct any phenomenon of violating discipline, of anarchism or of violating the legal system. Otherwise, we will never be able to build socialism and will never be able to realize modernization either. Reasonable discipline and socialist democracy are not contradictory to each other but guarantee each other."

It is a pity that this requirement of Comrade Xiaoping that all units throughout the country must unexceptionally have stipulated discipline, implement discipline and carry out education on discipline has not been extensively and seriously implemented. In order to implement this requirement well, it is necessary to carry out investigations and we cannot expect to have it implemented in one morning. Nevertheless, we should not delay implementing it simply because of this. We hope that units that have not implemented it will promptly do so.

In 1981, the CCP Central Committee issued document No 7--the "decision on the present propaganda policy for magazines, newspapers and broadcasting." After saying that newspapers, magazines and the propaganda front had done a lot of work, attained remarkable achievements and made a great contribution to the party's cause, the document continued to say, "However, some serious shortcomings also exist. The chief ones are: the four basic principles have not been publicized enthusiastically, consciously, assuredly, convincingly, frequently and systematically. There has been no forceful struggle against ideas, words and deeds that oppose the four basic principles. In handling some problems, they have not kept in step with the party. One-sidedness exists in some news reports and in publicizing theories and policies. Certain reports have been inconsistent with facts. Besides, in the work of leadership, some questions of ideological principles have not been seriously discussed and ideological principles have not been seriously discussed and criticism and self-criticism have not been persistently carried out. It seems that criticism runs counter to the double hundred policy. This erroneous view has not yet been corrected among some comrades."

"We must vigorously guard against negating the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist system and writing off the tremendous achievements of the 31 years since the founding of the PRC under the pretext of criticizing the 'leftist' mistakes. We must enthusiastically and vividly publicize the party's line, principles and policies and the party's work with rich and varied forms in close connection with reality. We must try in every way to raise the people's socialist consciousness, increase their confidence in the cause of modernization and arouse their revolutionary spirit. As to views that doubt and distort the party's line, principles and policies, we must make patient and detailed explanations and expositions and carry out education. As to words and deeds that openly resist and oppose the party's line, principles and policies, we must resolutely wage a solemn struggle by argument and reasoning under appropriate circumstances and in an appropriate way according to each specific case."

"We must not think that the double hundred policy is for canceling the four basic principles, the party's leadership, and criticism and self-criticism. Otherwise, we will confuse the proletarian double hundred policy with bourgeois liberalization."

"We must not leave unchecked or tolerate views and ideas that doubt and vilify the four basic principles. Still less should we permit using the party's tools for propaganda to spread them. We must forcefully refute them. As to any tendency of attempting to weaken, shake off, cancel or oppose the party's leadership, we must carry out overt or covert criticism and education according to each specific case and if necessary, we must wage a struggle."

"We must continue to criticize and oppose various residual ideological and political influences of feudalism inside and outside the party and resist corrosive decadent bourgeois ideas. We must criticize and oppose the tendency of anarchism, individualism and bourgeois liberalization."

I am sorry that I have spent much time referring to documents. I think that it is necessary for us to have an overall review of instructions on this question issued by the central authorities, because obviously many comrades are not very clear about them or have even forgotten them. At least they have not completely acted according to what the documents have stipulated so that the Central Committee has to convene this conference to stress this policy. It can be seen from the above brief reference that this conference will never be detrimental to implementing the policy since the third plenary session and will never be detrimental to discussing and implementing the resolution of the sixth plenary session. Some comrades seem to think that opposing the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is a new question and consequently they think that the Central Committee's policy is changeable. It is groundless to think so.

Since the question has repeatedly been put forth and now a conference has been specially convened for this purpose, it shows that in the past 2 and 1/2 years, this policy of the Central Committee has not produced much effect. Why? The reason is that many comrades are still very lax and weak in ideology and actions toward this question. There are also a handful of people who up till now are not clear about, or deny, the existence of this trend of liberalization and even try all they can to harbor it. This is indeed a serious problem facing the whole

party that must be solved. In addition to other reasons, the existence of this problem reveals the fact that up till now many comrades are prone to look at questions one-sidedly. It seems that when it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on correcting a certain tendency, another tendency can be left unchecked. This again reminds us that we must pay attention to this important historical lesson. Under all circumstances, we must look at problems from all sides and must not let one tendency cover up another tendency.

In his talk, Comrade Xiaoping mentioned the film script "Unrequited Love" and the film "The Sun and the Man" which is based on this film script. The film script was written before the sixth plenary session in 1979 and the film was also made before the sixth plenary session. Will similar film scripts and films be written and made after the sixth plenary session? If we do not strengthen the whole party's leadership on the ideological front, they will still appear. Practice has proved that it is no easy job to struggle against the trend of bourgeois liberalization. Of course, the emergence of this trend of thought at present has its objective social and historical causes. But this does not mean that the responsibility of the party's leadership can be lightened. On the contrary, it can only be increased, that is to say, we must unite as one and seriously and solemnly strengthen the struggle against this trend of thought. In order to strengthen this struggle, we must first change the lax and weak situation of the party's guidance over ideological work as mentioned by Comrade Xiaoping. Otherwise, there may not be much change in the situation of the ideological front even 2 and 1/2 years from now.

In order to change this situation, we must first strengthen inner-party criticism and self-criticism. The resolution of the sixth plenary session itself not only included this aspect but also was an example of carrying out criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle. Is the resolution of the sixth plenary session not a self-criticism of our whole party? Our party made a through and through, open and courageous self-criticism on its work in the past 32 years without avoiding any ideological struggle and without worrying that this kind of self-criticism and ideological struggle might arouse various doubts. If we want to study, discuss and implement the resolution of the sixth plenary session, can any of our units or fronts avoid carrying out similar courageous self-criticism and ideological struggle? Only if we carry forward this spirit of criticism and self-criticism of the sixth plenary session on all fronts are we actually implementing the spirit of the sixth plenary session and restoring the party's fine traditions. As a matter of fact, on our socialist economic construction front, are we not carrying out ideological struggle every day and have we not adopted necessary organizational measures and legal measures for it? Every day we are criticizing mistakes in our work either from top to bottom (instruction, orders, and so on, issued by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and relevant organizations at different levels) or from bottom to top (letters, visits, and so on, of the masses). Similar struggle is also often carried out in the party's organizational work. We think that it is necessary to carry out this kind of struggle and we should carry out struggle of this kind much more often. Comparatively speaking, this kind of struggle on the ideological front proves to be definitely inferior. Of course, there are some differences between the struggle on the ideological front and that on the economic front or on other fronts. For example, most spiritual products are the fruits of creative labor of individual mental

laborers. The quality of these products cannot be so easily determined as material products and consequently a unanimous assessment on them cannot be so easily obtained. This is the reason why we always try to avoid taking administrative measures and rarely do we take legal measures in handling problems that belong purely to the ideological field. Criticism and self-criticism are also being carried out on the ideological front. Many comrades have done fruitful work in this respect and this should not be written off. Nevertheless, it will be difficult to deny that the ideological front is lagging behind in criticism and self-criticism. For example, the work "Unrequited Love" which obviously contained serious political mistakes was not duly criticized for a long time in our literature and art circles until it was filmed. After criticism was published in JIEFANGJUN BAO, some comrades still did not take a clear-cut stand. They only found fault with this commentary. This was not only a sign of weakness, but also one of being negligent in one's duties. Similar situations have also occurred in the field of social sciences and other work. We can no longer tolerate the existence of this situation.

Some comrades asked: Will criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle be detrimental to the situation of stability and unity, of vigor and vitality, of ideological emancipation and of cultural prosperity which has existed since the third plenary session and turn it into a pool of stagnant water? Correctly waging ideological struggle will not be detrimental to this situation, but not waging ideological struggle will certainly be detrimental to it. As we all know, under ordinary conditions, running water is never polluted while stagnant water will certainly become polluted. Normal criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle, like normal running water, are healthy activities needed by a socialist society for its stability and unity, vigor and vitality, ideological emancipation and cultural prosperity. Without criticism and self-criticism, it will surely turn into a pool of polluted stagnant water where we may not be able to find stability and unity, vigor and vitality in the socialist society but may find instead "liberation" and "prosperity" of various kinds of antisocialist germs. A process of criticism, or we may say a process of ideological struggle, took place from the third plenary session to the sixth plenary session. Has it consolidated the situation of stability and unity, vigor and vitality or not? Has our ideology been more emancipated or not? Has the culture become more prosperous or not? It has unified the whole party's understanding of the past, present and future and this is the greatest guarantee for stability and unity, vigor and vitality, ideological emancipation and cultural prosperity. Some comrades become afraid on hearing the mention of criticism, in particular, ideological struggle. However, there is nothing to be afraid of from the events of the past 3 or 4 years. From this it can be seen that unless an ideological struggle is utterly unjustifiable, has a wrong orientation, employs wrong methods and is arbitrary and peremptory (these kinds of struggles did exist during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and before it, and we still have a fresh memory of them, so it is not strange that we are on our guard against them), ideological struggle will not be detrimental to stability and unity and so on.

Carrying out criticism and self-criticism in a correct way and ideological struggle under necessary circumstances will only develop socialist democracy to a higher degree and will not suppress socialist democracy or prevent it from developing to a higher degree. This is because it calls for spreading and



adopting correct viewpoints of the majority and correcting wrong ideas of the minority (in this large country of ours, although there are some people who stick to the errors of the left tendency or pursue bourgeois liberalization, they are only a very small number among the people). This is indispensable to realizing socialist democracy. Of course, this in no way means that the majority can violate legal stipulations and exercise "dictatorship" over the minority. The "gang of four" frequently repeated exercising "overall dictatorship" in the ideological and cultural fields. But to us socialists, this will never be permitted and is unimaginable. In the course of ideological contention among the people, we undoubtedly should resolutely stick to the "double hundred" policy and uphold socialist democracy, including democracy within academic fields and artistic fields. We should not only permit making criticism but also permit making counter-criticism and airing different views. We should provide conditions for comrades who are criticized to explain themselves and provide conditions for them to realize and correct their mistakes. This is stipulated in "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" which I have just read, and it must be implemented. We should never repeat the past dominant way of criticism that resorted to arbitrariness and intimidation to coerce. Strictly speaking, that was even worse than passing a verdict because the latter permits the accused to explain and defend himself.

In his speech made at the enlarged work conference of the CCP committee in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong spoke about the question of how to treat comrades who had committed mistakes. He said: "We should adopt an attitude of helping others with the best intentions. There should not be an atmosphere like this: no one should make any mistake, and if he does, it will be the end of him. We should welcome anyone who has made a mistake and who truly wants to correct it and has made self-criticism. We should not set too high a demand on his first and second self-criticism. If the self-criticism he has made is not quite thorough, we should let him think it over again and help him with the best intentions." In his speech made at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also spoke about literary and art criticism. He said: "We should modestly listen to criticism from all sectors and accept profitable opinions. This is often the motive force helping artists to make constant progress and to raise their level continuously. We should encourage comradely and friendly discussion and encourage presenting facts and reasoning things out within the literary and art contingent, among literary and art workers of different kinds and different schools, among those who are engaged in writing and those who are engaged in criticism and among writers and artists and the broad masses of readers. We should permit both criticism and counter-criticism. We should uphold truth and correct mistakes." "The work of literature and art is a very complicated kind of mental labor which essentially requires writers and artists to display their personal creative spirit. The question of what to write and how to write can only be explored and gradually solved by writers and artists in artistic practice. We should not willfully interfere in this respect." These talks of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Deng Xiaoping are scientific summaries of the experiences of our party in leading ideological struggle and literary and artistic work over a long period. When we carry out criticism and self-criticism in the future, we must adhere to these principles. As long as we earnestly and completely act according to the policy stipulated since the third plenary session, we can certainly correct the tendency of liberalization and the situation of lax

and weak leadership and prevent and avoid repeating the past "leftist" mistakes and other new forms of "leftist" mistakes. The reason why the Central Committee put forth the question of criticizing "Unrequited Love" is that it had to concern itself with the lax and weak situation in the literary and art criticism circles, but the question must be solved by the literature and art circles themselves. We permit making explanation and defense. We also permit making counter criticism and publishing different views. Thus, this is not willful interference. Of course, not to willfully interfere does not mean not to uphold truth, not to correct mistakes, not to make correct and reasonable criticism and to let things go unchecked. Otherwise, we will be abandoning leadership and practicing bourgeois liberalization.

I can make a statement on behalf of the Central Committee: What Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed in his speech to the fourth national congress of literature and art circles in 1979 and the CCP Central Committee's notice on earnestly implementing the spirit of the fourth national congress of literature and art circles (this notice gives a comparatively detailed explanation on democracy on literary and art criticism and in the literature and art fields) remain in full effect. Since the third plenary session, the party's policy has been consistent and the party's policies on literature and art, culture, academic studies and intellectuals have also been consistent. There has not and there will not be any relapse. Nor will we permit any relapse.

Question No 2: How does the trend of bourgeois liberalization affect the party from within and cause the lax and weak state on the inner-party ideological front and how can such a trend be reversed? Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that the trend of bourgeois liberalization on the one hand represented an effort to counter the "Great Cultural Revolution" and on the other was due to the corrosive influence of external bourgeois ideology. This correctly analyzes the objective, sociohistorical cause of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. I would like to supplement other subjective causes in the light of the party's own ideological work. Since around the convention of the third plenary session, there have been some erroneous views within the ideological circles (mainly the ideological circles within the party). These erroneous views are chiefly expressed in the following aspects.

On the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend": the fundamental concept of the policy is to hold democratic academic discussions and conduct free contention in art, to develop what is correct and advanced and to overcome what is wrong and backward, and to develop what is true, good and beautiful and to overcome what is false, bad and ugly by criticism and self-criticism. The aim is to ensure a healthy growth of socialist science and culture. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong has already made very clear and minute expositions which are familiar to all, and I will not quote what he said here. However, some comrades do not have a correct understanding of this. They even distorted this policy as being divorced from any principle. Whatever they want to write should be written, whatever they want to say should be said, whatever they want to propagate should be propagated, whatever they want to publish should be published, and nobody was to criticize or interfere. This would naturally obliterate the demarcation line of principle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between socialism and capitalism. The result

would be negation of the necessity for the party's correct leadership over ideological work and attempts to resist and deviate from such leadership, for it is considered to restrict and fetter them. Some comrades hold that on some fundamental and principled questions concerning political theories, party members are allowed to break through all "forbidden zones" and spread any views at random, even at the risk of deviating from the basic tenets of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, deviating from the basic principles of socialism, from the successful revolutionary practice of the party and the people over the past decades, from the party's basic policies and from the fundamental principles of party discipline and the state constitution. Thus, they have placed themselves in the position of privileged citizens and "kings without crowns" under the socialist society, and special members within the party.

In order to defend their freedom to air erroneous views, some comrades have regarded the eight-character policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" (they refer only to the literal meaning of these characters and do not talk about the essence of the policy) as the party's only policy in ideological work. Undoubtedly, the "hundred flower" policy is the party's long-term and basic policy for developing socialist science and culture, but there is still no ground for saying that it is the party's only policy in the sphere of ideological work. Besides this policy, our party implements a series of other policies in ideological work. They include the policy of serving the people and serving socialism, the policy of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from actual conditions and combining theory with practice, the policy of weeding through the old to bring forth the new, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China, the policy of ensuring the leading position of Marxism in all social, political and ideological spheres, the policy of adhering to and strengthening the party's ideological work in all spheres, the policy of criticism and self-criticism, the policy of practicing unity-criticism-unity among the people, and so forth. Obviously, if the above-mentioned misunderstandings of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" are not put right, the policy is bound to be misinterpreted as a policy of bourgeois liberalization which runs counter to the four basic principles.

On the question of China's socialist revolution, some comrades have been taking a skeptical attitude for a long time. Regardless of the fact that the Chinese revolution has become inevitable in China's history and it has successfully developed in China, and regardless of Lenin's expositions around the Russian October Revolution and the new developments of the international socialist movement since the beginning of this century, they dogmatically propagate that since socialism should be built on the basis of highly developed and socialized mass production, and should abolish commodity production, with a backward economic basis China should not and cannot practice socialism. They refuse to recognize the fact that after the realization of socialist transformation, China has abolished the exploitation system, established the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production and established the basic political, economic and cultural systems of socialism. Although improvement of these systems is needed, they have taken root in China, stood severe tests and shown their great vitality. As these comrades refuse to recognize that ours is a socialist society, they naturally also refuse to recognize the great achievements



in our socialist construction over the past 20 years and more, and the superiority of our socialist system which some of the fair-minded foreign bourgeoisie also admit. A handful of people even absurdly advocate that China should take the road back to developing new democratism and national capitalism. This extremely erroneous viewpoint and propaganda is not only an expression, but also a "theoretical" basis of the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Due to their skeptical attitude toward the Chinese socialist revolution, some comrades have shown no interest in combining the study of the basic tenets of Marxism which have succeeded and developed in China and the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought with the long-term practice of the Chinese revolution. They have even lost faith in the complete scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought, which has stood historical tests, merely because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years (as to these mistakes, they also have made wrong and unhistorical analysis). In fact, they have not only lost faith in Mao Zedong Thought, but also in the great revolutionary practice of the CCP and the Chinese people over the past decades, in the basic tenets of Marxism and their development in realistic life.

On the question of socialist democracy, some comrades have set socialist democracy against party leadership. There is no doubt that the party is only a part of the people and exists as a special product of society in a given historical period. It is a tool of the people, having as its sole aim serving the people and serving the greatest interests of the greatest majority of people. However, certain comrades seem to have failed to understand that only the Communist Party, which is the most advanced political force, is capable of representing the interests and will of the broadest possible sections of the people; that only under the leadership of the Communist Party can we harmonize well the relations between the different interests of various sections of the people with coincidental fundamental interests, can we correctly combine the collective interests with partial interests, combine the long-term interests with the immediate interests, and can we achieve the unity of the various nationalities of the country. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, socialist democracy cannot be established, developed, consolidated and perfected. Of course, party leadership must resolutely safeguard the people's rights and interests and bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the masses. The leaders must often go deep among the masses, listen attentively to their views and suggestions, pool their wisdom and experiences, and make efforts to do their work well in accordance with the objective law of social and natural sciences. This is the correct leadership. But, we cannot draw a conclusion like this: as if the people being the masters of their own house are against the leadership of the party; as if the masses can naturally and correctly recognize their long-term interests under all circumstances; as if the party is not a vanguard organization of the class and the masses of people but quite the contrary; and as if the consciousness of the masses is always higher than the consciousness of the party. If so, the scientific theories of Marxism will be reduced to the spontaneity of the masses, the party will not be the product of the integration of Marxism and the workers' movement, and all ideological and political work of the party will become entirely meaningless. Some comrades have neglected the importance of the socialist legal system, the principle of democratic centralism, and revolutionary and labor discipline. They do not understand that under socialism, without all these,

talking of abstract democracy will only lead to anarchism and extreme-individualism. They usually obliterate the essential distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, making little effort to seriously study and criticize the class nature of bourgeois democracy and its hypocrisy, its limitations and other disadvantages. A small number of people have even abandoned the basic principles of Marxism and spread the prejudice and cherished illusions of bourgeois democracy. They advocate the so-called "natural rights" advocated by the bourgeois ideologists and try to practice the bourgeois multi-partyism, parliamentarism and election contest system in socialist China. This is another "theoretical" basis of the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Owing to the fact that the party has committed mistakes, especially the long-standing overall mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," some comrades have lost confidence in the party's capability to lead the people in building a prosperous, rich and powerful country in the future, and they spread their diffidence among the people. As for unhealthy trends and instances of seeking privileges and bureaucratism that exist to a certain extent, these people neither understand that they are a legacy of the old society and the "Great Cultural Revolution," nor see the tremendous and effective efforts our party has made and is continuing to make to correct and eliminate them. They exaggerated the negative side in the party's work at will and stubbornly asserted that it was the essential aspect of the party. A few of them have even gone so far as to wantonly defame the party and have made up and spread various kinds of "theories" for this purpose.

It is difficult for the comrades within the party who entertain erroneous ideas similar to the above-mentioned ones to observe the party's discipline or to maintain their political stand in conformity with that of the CCP Central Committee. Though difficult, it is not impossible. This requires the party to firmly criticize and educate these comrades so as to save them and bring them back from the erroneous and dangerous route they embarked on.

Naturally, the above-mentioned erroneous ideas in the ideological sphere will be reflected more or less in literary and art criticism and creation and in other sectors of ideological work. Some literary and art journals highlighted their vigorous discussions of political problems such as those on the so-called "break-through" and "revision" of the four basic principles. The author of "Unrequited Love" and the director of the film "The Sun and the Man" certainly have done their utmost to express their own erroneous political viewpoints so that those two works are not so much the reflection of reality as parables or caricatures solely to reflect their political viewpoints. Besides, in the literary and art fields, there are also some ideological problems that are relatively special in their professional line. For example, some comrades deny that social life is the only source of literature and art, and are against the ideas of going deep into life and making a study of society. Some comrades treat literature and art purely as their personal undertakings and regard literary and art works as the personal self-expression of writers and artists and as something that is not related with social politics at all. They think that a writer can neglect his social responsibility and that we should not pay attention to the social effect of literary and art works. They think that writers and artists in a socialist

society can depart from the guidance and influence of the progressive ideology of their time and from the party's correct leadership over the orientation or development of literature and art. Some comrades think that literature and art should propagate so-called human nature in the abstract without taking into consideration the social character of human beings. A few of them even think that the socialist system oppresses and stifles human nature. Some comrades blindly copy the Western and foreign fashions, including vulgar and degenerate things, or take the road of catering to the backward and bad taste of a part of the masses. They have ignored our nation's fine aesthetic tradition, discarded our country's revolutionary literary and artistic tradition and denied the principle of the unity of the revolutionary ideological content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form.

I have to emphatically assert that the liberalization trend mentioned above has only occurred in places on the ideological front and only involves a very small number of comrades and that even this very small number of comrades do not each entertain all the above-mentioned ideas. Most of them have been nurtured and educated by the party and have been working for the party for a long time. Usually they have strong as well as weak points and achievements as well as errors in their work. Therefore, their erroneous trends can be corrected through criticism and education. This situation is by no means the main stream on the ideological front. We must point out that most of the ideological and literary and art workers have been earnestly, conscientiously, vigorously and effectively working for the people and for socialism. In certain respects, their work has exceeded the level that was reached before the "Great Cultural Revolution." They have more or less boycotted the various manifestations of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, and have thus made contributions to the socialist cause, so that their actions are applauded by the people. We should never become oversensitive because of the criticism of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and get the false impression that there is bourgeois liberalization almost everywhere and that almost all of the ideological and literary and art workers have committed mistakes. This impression is completely untrue. We must affirm that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee we have indeed made great achievements in our ideological, and literary and art fields, just as we must still affirm that at present great achievements have really been made on the economic front throughout the country, though we have to criticize the low economic efficiency and even the unhealthy and evil practices in violation of the discipline and laws in many enterprises. Nevertheless, we have to carry out grave criticism and self-criticism with regard to some erroneous ideas and practices in the ideological, literary and art circles. Otherwise, the impact of these mistakes will grow and our cause and the overall work of our party and state will be gravely hampered and damaged.

What we should call people's attention to is that quite a few of the above-mentioned liberalization ideas have cropped up in the name of carrying out the policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and emancipating the mind. As is known by everybody, the policies of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one to look ahead formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are perfectly correct. Practice has already fully proved that these policies have played a



decisive role in bringing order out of chaos and in overcoming the "leftist" guiding ideology. But, what does emancipation of the mind mean? In the opinion of the CCP Central Committee, to emancipate the mind means first and foremost to free our cadres and masses from the fetters of the leftist mistakes that were committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and from the fetters of the two "whatevers" so as to make them return to the scientific path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and to the fine tradition of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts in understanding the new conditions and solving the new problems. The CCP Central Committee holds that there is still a continuous necessity for such emancipation of the mind. However, some of our comrades do not understand the emancipation of the mind in this way. In their opinion, to emancipate the mind, we can depart from the path of the experiences that have been gained in our prolonged revolutionary struggle and tested by the practice of the party and the people and from the path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and we can divorce ourselves from the four basic principles. A very small number of comrades think that it is aimless to adhere to the four basic principles. Some of them even regard the four basic principles as four sticks. In the eyes of these people, there is no ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization at all in society, let alone within the party and even illegal organizations and illegal publications should be allowed to develop. They think that within the party, there is only the problem of opposing leftist mistakes, which might even include the socialist transformation led by the party. Some comrades in the ideological circles of the party differ from the Central Committee in their understanding of the problems of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the history of the 17 years before it, of the problems that cropped up during the 5 years after it and of Comrade Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong Thought and the four basic principles. Some comrades, especially younger ones, have a poor understanding of the history of modern China, the Chinese revolution and the CCP and entertain illusions and muddled ideas about capitalist countries and capitalist societies. These differences in understanding and these illusions and muddled ideas aggravate each other and work in concert to give rise to the development of bourgeois liberalization in certain fields.

We should also point out that there is also an important organizational cause for the development of the impact of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in certain fields. In spite of the fact that the party Central Committee sharply pointed out this problem as far back as in March 1979 and has repeatedly done so since, some comrades have kept on following their own course. In the past few years, some publications (including some so-called restricted publications), some symposiums, discussion meetings, get-togethers and lectures have not been attended to by many people. Some institutes in charge of propaganda, education, newspapers and journals, publication, culture and research into social science are not all organized or managed well. In some departments, some comrades have failed to unite with the others for a long time and this has made it hard for the work there to be carried out smoothly. A very small number of cadres who have fairly good sense of responsibility have personally expressed their sympathy and support for the liberalization trend. This laxity in organization, weakness in work and slackness in discipline is certainly detrimental to the struggle against ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. If we do not resolutely rectify this organizational laxity, we will not be able to effectively change the above-mentioned ideological state. Of course, there are other organizational problems,

such as that some of the remnant elements of the "gang of four" have not yet been ferreted out, or that, being simple and rough in their work style and ideologically rigid, some comrades have failed to make a study of and to respect the objective laws of science and art and interfered in many things in the academic, literary and art fields, regarding the interference as carrying out their "leadership." These problems should also be solved.

We must admit that the central Secretariat has not adopted enough practicable and effective measures to solve the existing problems on ideological work, though it has discussed them many times. As one of its members in charge of ideological work, I failed to fully and consistently bear my responsibility and to make my suggestions perfect in detail. I have to first of all make self-criticism and accept the criticism from the central authorities and comrades.

Here I have to answer a few questions.

Some comrades say that we should not overestimate the role of the work on the ideological and cultural front. The role of life itself is greater. We should not do things in the way of the saying that the god of thunder strikes the bean curd--bullies pick on the soft and weak--so that whenever we are in trouble, we make ideological work, especially films, literature and art, the first target of attack. Why should we make such a fuss as soon as a mistake is committed in ideological work, while we can forgive a failure in a scientific experiment and even a serious mistake in economic work? Since the founding of our country, we have carried out too many struggles and have gone too far in the struggle in the ideological and cultural fields. Generally speaking the results of these struggles were very bad. Now we should draw lessons from these struggles and be on our guard not to repeat them. These lessons were mentioned in all the relevant documents of the CCP Central Committee since its third plenary session, in the resolution of its sixth plenary session, in Comrade Xiaoping's talk this time and in Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech. I dare not say that in the future our party will never repeat these mistakes even to a slight degree. To avoid repeating them, we need the joint guarantee of the provisions in the constitution, laws, various rules concerning social activities and the constitution of the party, and the guarantee of a higher standard of party leadership and a higher standard of consciousness among all the comrades within the party and among the people throughout the country. Nevertheless, we should first of all make a distinction between correct and erroneous criticism. We should not act in the manner of flinching at the sight of a rope, once bitten by a snake. Life influences people's minds, while people's minds (especially systematic progressive ideology) in turn influence life. Have revolutions not happened in this way? Has our party not been founded in this way too? Ideological workers should never slight themselves unwarrantedly. Different ways of life and different ideology will inevitably give rise to mutual criticism. Criticism differs in nature and method. Can we regard criticism of "Unrequited Love" as being equivalent to that of "Liu Zhidan," "Angry Tide," "Li Huinian," "Xie Yaohuan," "Lin's Store," "Early Spring in February," "A Land of Abundance in Northern China," "Sister Opera Stars," "The Besieged City," "Press-Ganging Able-Bodied Men," "Hai Rui's Dismissal From Office," and other literary and art works? As was mentioned above, the party's criticism has not been restricted to literature and art only. More of it has been about economic and organizational work. Therefore, it cannot be said to be

in the manner of "the god of thunder strikes bean curd." Moreover, the erroneous tendency in ideological work and the erroneous ideological trend inside and outside the party cannot be compared to bean curd, nor with a couple or even hundreds of mistakes committed time and again by natural scientists in their laboratories. Except for explosion or spreading of poisonous material, the mistakes in laboratories, after all, will bring about only limited losses and involve a small number of people. Serious mistakes in economic policies and economic work which may bring about protracted losses and disasters to the country and the people must be resolutely corrected and severely handled. No leniency can be tolerated. However, generally speaking, the relatively unimportant mistakes in economic work will not (at least not directly) have their impact on the nature of the social political system and the direction of its development, though, of course, they should also be ruthlessly and resolutely corrected. A wrong ideological trend with a widespread social influence differs from minor, trivial and isolated errors. If such a trend is not controlled by criticism, it will spread like an epidemic and will harm the spiritual health, stability and unity of the whole society and even give rise to a catastrophe as serious as the "Great Cultural Revolution." Our criticism of "Unrequited Love" and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is precisely a criticism of an important political tendency that has truly existed for a long time. It is not making a fuss about some trifling thing. Besides, the CCP Central Committee has time and again asserted that there should be no joint attack or movements and that everything should be done in accordance with the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." This means that criticism will not be carried out in the way of the god of thunder. Mobilizing people to take part in criticism is aimed at rousing the whole party to intensify the correct leadership over ideological work and encourage the revolutionary spirit of criticism and self-criticism rather than overthrowing any comrades. Any comrade who is willing to understand and correct his mistakes, will only lose his erroneous ideas; on the other hand, he will be welcomed by all the people throughout the party and the country. No one, except criminals, will be crushed like bean curd.

Some of the comrades said: Problems on the ideological front are after all secondary, and if we make a success of the economy, problems on the ideological front will not be difficult to solve. We should not confuse the primary with the secondary. Taking the work of our country as a whole, the most important thing is to improve the economy, and we must not vacillate on this. However, we also cannot subscribe to the view that once the economy improves the ideology of people in various sectors will automatically become better. On the contrary, there is actually this kind of condition even in countries with very flourishing economies. The people (naturally not all the people) lack ideals and convictions and suffer from a spiritual void. Naturally, people must have at least the bare essentials of life before they can pay attention to other things. However, this does not mean that people with the essentials of life will have the correct ideology. Moreover, there is also the question of whether the people are aware of the proper source and use of the essentials of life themselves. The object of our struggle is not only material civilization, but also spiritual civilization. Although spiritual civilization cannot be removed from certain material conditions, it is not a parasite or appendage of material civilization. It can only be produced and developed as a result of the long struggle carried out by all the comrades, the whole party and people of various nationalities throughout the



country in the fields of ideology, politics and culture on the ideological front. Under the conditions in China today, if we only build a socialist material civilization without trying, at the same time, to build a socialist spiritual civilization, and if the people are still selfish and work exclusively for profit, then they will be unable to make overall plans or unite with and help each other. They will also use unscrupulous means to blackmail or to plot against each other and there will be no comradely love, neighborly love or brotherly love among them, no spirit of self-sacrifice or sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others or the public, no lofty ideals or sentiment, no firm conviction on the future of the revolution and no organization and discipline which are indispensable for the revolutionary struggle. In this case, is there still any distinction between the mentality of this kind of society and the mentality of capitalist society? Is it possible that our revolution is for the sake of building this kind of society? Moreover, without a given socialist spiritual civilization, it is impossible to build a socialist material civilization, and even if one is built, it will also be inevitably destroyed. This fact is obvious to everyone and needs no further elaboration. This is why in developing the socialist economy, we must at the same time develop socialist politics, socialist ethics, socialist education, socialist science and socialist culture. All these require the carrying out of massive and arduous ideological work and ideological struggle. Leadership on the economic front or organizational front cannot be lax or weak, and this also applies to the political, ideological, cultural and other fronts. Leadership must be unified and strong.

The achievement of ideological uniformity on fundamental questions involving actual politics (for many questions not affecting the concerted actions of the people, this kind of uniformity is not required) is naturally not an easy matter. Social life is extremely complex and so is the understanding by the people of social life. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the understanding of most comrades of the ideological circles in the party was quite unanimous on the question of criticizing the two "whatevers." With the passage of time, many new conditions and problems have appeared, and also comrades whose understanding used to be quite unanimous have become not so unanimous on certain questions and differences have appeared. This was also reflected in the course of discussing the draft of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." Now with the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee over and the resolution passed, conditions are ripe for solving these differences. Every party member must unconditionally obey the discipline of the party and the resolution of the Central Committee. What they say or do must be in accordance with the formulation of the resolution. We must not hold endless debates on fundamental questions of actual politics and turn our party and the People's Republic into a club for holding daily political debates as though only this situation can be considered springtime. No, what we want is a socialist springtime. This springtime not only allows the freedom of holding debates within proper limits but also allows the freedom of the whole party, the whole army and people of various nationalities to unite as one and build a new socialist life. If we can, by means of criticism, and particularly self-criticism, eliminate past differences and become united on the basis of the resolution or united as a harmonious family (a harmonious family also has arguments, but the arguments finally end in agreement and harmony is not affected), then, a great part of the question of laxity and weakness on the



ideological front can be solved. Our party is the core of the unity of the people throughout the country and the mainstay for building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Therefore, we not only must, but also can, achieve this goal.

In short, this meeting called by the Central Committee is a sign of its determination to use every possible means to conscientiously solve the present problem of laxity and weakness of the party on the ideological front. We not only must solve this ideologically but also organizationally. We must thoroughly change the situation of having so many policies that it is difficult to decide which one is right, and we must above all do this through various departments of the Central Committee.

Question No 3 is how to develop correct criticism. Correct criticism naturally must, above all, adhere to the four basic principles. This is the common basis for criticism in any sphere. There are also special demands on criticism in different spheres and for different problems. However, no matter in which sphere, in order to genuinely and effectively achieve the goal of adhering to the four basic principles, criticism must be theoretically and factually correct. It must also have constancy and strive for consistency. As I have said before, socialist democracy is a dialectical movement which progresses through criticism and self-criticism. Correct criticism does not depend on point of view but depends on science and skill. In other words, it depends on truth and correct method.

Literary and art criticism is a special branch of science. As I know very little about this branch of science, I cannot say much about the subject. Here I will only talk generally about criticism of a political nature. I think that correct criticism must have at least three conditions. First, we must have a complete and thorough understanding of the target of criticism and the person, thing or viewpoint to be criticized. This is not my invention. Confucius said: "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to admit that you do not know it; this is knowledge." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "No investigation, no right to speak." This is an unchangeable truth. Criticism of anyone must be based on objective facts, and it is imperative to maintain a scientific attitude. If we lack a complete and thorough understanding of the target of criticism, we must conscientiously make investigation and study. We must never insist that we know a thing when we know nothing about it. Because in criticism when we go through a process of complete and thorough understanding, knowledge is deepened. Therefore, to varying degrees, criticism itself is a kind of scientific research, a kind of creative labor.

Second, in criticism among the people we must have the desire for unity. This is also not my invention. Comrade Mao Zedong on numerous occasions stressed, "If there is no subjective desire for unity, struggle will make a mess of things and the situation will get out of hand. Will this not be 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows'? Will there still be party unity?" As long as there is no conclusive evidence that the target of criticism is a hostile element or an incorrigible evildoer, we must enthusiastically help him and have the desire of uniting with him. Our demand is to proceed from the desire for unity and achieve unity on a new basis. This is the principle we must adhere to. However, this demand also cannot be easily achieved in practice. There are two reasons for

this. The first reason is because the person criticized has no desire or has very little desire for unity. Or the desire is only verbal or the method inappropriate, resulting in others being frightened by the sight of it. The other reason is because the person criticized basically refuses to accept criticism and still refuses to accept it despite our well-meaning advice and mild criticism, our warmhearted desire for unity and our promise to wait for him as long as he corrects his mistakes and mends his ways. These two conditions increase the difficulty of our work.

Third, starting from the above-mentioned two points, our criticism should be reasonable and fair. This is not my invention either. It was pointed out in the "circular on seriously implementing the guidelines laid down at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles" issued by the CCP Central Committee that "we can discuss and criticize, and should discuss and criticize those literary works which contain mistakes and erroneous opinions. We must try to make such discussion and criticism comradely, fair, reasonable and convincing without exaggerating the mistakes. By so doing, our criticism will be correct criticism, and not irresponsible criticism, running against the principle of 'not picking on people, not putting political labels on people and not wielding the big stick,' or the so-called 'criticism' which finds fault, cooks up charges, unlimitedly raises mistakes to the higher plane of principle, deprives the criticized of democratic rights and is utterly crude and ruthless." This is easy to write, but is not so easy to practice or to bear in mind all the time. Yet, we should try our best to always bear it in mind and act accordingly. In order to ensure our criticism is amenable to reason, friendly and is for the purpose of achieving unity, we must make it as reasonable and fair as possible. By changing the original order of "fair and reasonable" into "reasonable and fair." I mean to emphasize the "fair" here, which has the original meaning of criticizing people according to facts. Now I would like to emphasize its meaning of "being not stormy and foul," or, emphasizing being more friendly to our comrades. This is also a natural and normal human feeling. "Being reasonable" means avoiding making assertions without good grounds, and thus our criticism will be entirely reasonable. "Being fair" means correctly analyzing and understanding the psychological status of the criticized with a friendly attitude. This method of criticism is the correct expression of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought.

These three points are actually the practice in our criticism of the correct style of study, work and writing advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. If anyone has read or seen the film script "Unrequited Love" or "The Sun and the Man," and has remained indifferent or says it is not necessary to make criticism, we would like to ask him plainly where his sense of responsibility toward the party is. The purpose of setting higher demands on criticism is to make our criticism truly effective and to ensure the criticized as well as the large number of the masses truly raise their consciousness through education. This should also have been the new mood of socialist democracy within our party and state after the third plenary session, and especially after the sixth plenary session.

I must declare that, although I have set these demands for correctly carrying out criticism, I do not mean I have satisfied them very well myself. In fact, I have often made inaccurate criticisms of comrades and have paid insufficient attention to method and attitude. I only want to stress that a correct criticism should

accord with these requirements. Although I have not done this well, I hope I will do so in the future.

During the discussions, the comrades touched on the questions of motive and effect as well as task and method. In his article "Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the relations between task and method. As you have no differing opinions on this point, I need not go into it. In the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," he talked about the unification of motive and effect, but as he did not elaborate on it there are still differences of understanding. During the discussions there were also differences of understanding. We do not judge a man by his declarations but by his actions. This is undoubtedly a truth. But if we extend this truth to the relations between motive and effect, the situation is rather complicated because declaration is not tantamount to motive and action is not tantamount to effect. They are two relations of different natures. Comrade Mao Zedong set a very important demand on us when he set forth the unification of motive and effect. Our literary and art workers and every comrade must always bear this demand in mind and make every effort to achieve it. But this is not a regular pattern. Comrade Mao Zedong often asked us to pay attention to differentiating between good people committing mistakes and bad people perpetrating evil deeds, hatching plots and striking vicious blows. This is because this differentiation is both complicated and absolutely essential. When a person is murdered, the public security and the procuratorial organs must distinguish between suicide and murder from different aspects and by different means; if murder has been determined, it is still necessary to distinguish between willful murder, manslaughter or justifiable self-defense or the murderer making use of another person to get rid of an adversary, and even falsifying the scene in an attempt to put the blame on somebody else. Everybody knows that it is very difficult to make this kind of distinction. With regard to Comrade Mao Zedong who made mistakes in his later years, are there not also different interpretations as to his motives until the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee drew a correct conclusion? Does not one of the serious mistakes of the script "Unrequited Love" and the film "The Sun and the Man" lie in the fact that they explained or hinted at the motive of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in an extremely one-sided manner and exaggerated it to their hearts' content? The reason why such erroneous works also find support among the people exactly reflects that some people also have similar explanations for the "Great Cultural Revolution." Naturally there are also some people who have some misunderstandings about the "double hundred" policy and are dissatisfied with the methods and expressions of some commentaries, and so on. In a word, the unification of motive and effect is a complicated question. We require that all Communist Party members, Marxists and any good and honest citizen who has a sense of responsibility should strive to attain the unification of motive and effect. But in many cases it is impossible, in fact, to attain this completely and the reasons are many. In order to attain this unification, unity of subjectivity and objectivity and unity of cognition and practice must first of all be achieved, and this is already very difficult; after this step has been attained, it is still necessary to overcome the interference of many unexpected factors. Therefore, in a comparatively complicated activity, it often takes a long and tortuous process to achieve this unity, and even at the last moment it is still impossible to achieve or to completely achieve this unity. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said, although Comrade Mao Zedong put forward a lot of very

correct and very good principles which we should carry out conscientiously, even he himself often failed to carry them out. Therefore, with respect to the disunity of motive and effect, we should not demand perfection from the comrades concerned before making a serious analysis, still less to infer the motive hastily from the effect because it is very dangerous to do so. Effect can naturally be used as a possible basis to infer motive, but this is only a possibility. It is imperative to call to mind that there are still other possibilities. To come to a conclusion, it is imperative to make careful demonstrations, rule out other possibilities and set forth sufficient and reliable arguments. Therefore, with regard to either literary and art creation or criticism, we should not make deductions or excessive demands by taking the unity of motive and effect as a set pattern. When motive and effect are not in unity, we should make a concrete analysis of the concrete things and explain where and why they are not in unity and how they can achieve unity. If it is done this way, the value of criticism will be raised and the criticism will be convincing. It is necessary to advocate and encourage criticism, and it is also necessary to set demands on it. In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only advocated and encouraged criticism but also set demands on the quality, methods and proper limits for criticism. At present, there is very little criticism, still less self-criticism. With regard to criticism, particularly self-criticism, it is necessary to advocate it vigorously. We hope there will be very good and high-quality criticism. However, if the quality is not so high for a short while, we should not reproach it excessively just as we should not excessively reproach works which have some shortcomings. As to mutual flattery which is harmful without the slightest benefit, we have said a lot about it and I shall not repeat it.

We are sure our critic circles will certainly be able to gradually raise the quality of criticism just as the creative circles will certainly be able to gradually raise the quality of creation. We cannot imagine we can write nothing but wait for the day when great and immortal works drop down from the sky. Both criticism and creation can make constant progress and improvement only in practice. As to creation or criticism that has some mistakes of principle, we naturally should point out its mistakes and this criticism is exactly a loving care for the author or the one who makes the criticism.

What I mention above can also probably be applicable to commentaries of works on social sciences.

Question No 4: How can one understand Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art? This is a special question concerning literary and art theory, and I can express my personal opinion chiefly on the political aspect only.

One of the major tasks of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was to give a scientific exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical status and his thought. This task, thanks to the concerted efforts of many comrades, had already been accomplished at the party's last session. Talking about Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art, I think this subject is very rich in content. It is quite necessary for us to make a conscientious study of it, and we have probably not begun this work in earnest yet. Our work should by no means be limited to the study of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" or with the "Conversation With the Musicians" added to it. It should include



the study of the fine poems and the large amount of prose written by Comrade Mao Zedong, the aesthetic viewpoint and value of these works as well as his reviews, comments and appreciations of some writers and works in history and in modern times. We must collect and collate the data on these aspects as speedily as possible. Therefore, in order to study Comrade Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art, the data for us to go by now is very incomplete. With respect to the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," I think the fundamental spirit of these talks not only played an important role in history, guiding the development of literary creation in the liberated areas in the later period of the war of resistance against Japan and after the founding of the PRC, but must be adhered to at all times in the future. The basic points are: literature and art are reflections of man's social life and life is the only source of literature and art; though life can be portrayed from an array of stands, proletarian writers and writers of the people must take the stand of the proletariat and the people; this question of stand must be solved in practice, not in words only; in places where the people are the masters, the writers must go deep into the life of the people, first of all, the worker-peasant-soldier masses who account for the great majority of the people, and this is not only the duty of the writers and artists, but also a right which they often failed to get in the past; basing themselves on the stand of the proletariat and the people, the writers should create literary and art works to unite, educate and inspire the people in the struggle against the enemy and for the transformation of the old society and old ideas and the building of a new society and a new life. They are entirely correct. For the current socialist epoch, the CCP Central Committee put forward the principle that literature and art must serve the people and socialism. This is the application and development under socialism of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. Service to the people can by no means be taken to mean service only to the workers, peasants and soldiers. Though they do not constitute the entire people, they account for the overwhelming majority. Intellectuals in socialist society are also a part of the laboring people. Service to the people and socialism is also "politics of the masses" as referred to in the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." The slogan--literature and art should serve socialism--is much clearer than the slogan--serve politics. For the latter could be and actually has been understood as serving a current policy, a temporary political task or event, or even a political leader blindly giving orders. It should be admitted that service to politics in a narrow sense is also necessary to some extent (so long as this politics really represents the interests of the people at that time), but it can by no means be used to sum up the entire role of literature and art just as picture posters and satirical drawings are necessary but they cannot after all be used to include the entire drawing. Socialism is a very great cause, and service to this great cause by our literature and art is a task that naturally comes with social and historical development and is a glorious duty of every socialist writer and artist. Naturally, as art has different categories and varieties (such as literature, drama, cinema, fine art, music, dance, architectural art, and so on, as well as their further classifications), their methods, aspects and natures of serving socialism cannot be lumped together and neither can our requirements toward them be the same. To serve socialism is a broad concept. Any works, conducive to bringing out the people's socialist world outlook, ideals, moral qualities, beliefs, will, wisdom, courage, ethics and mentality, serve socialism. In present-day China, service to socialism is service to the people. The people are building socialism and are promoting the advance of socialism. If

our literature and art depart from the lofty objective of socialism, fail to serve it and even infringe upon its interests, why should the people need this kind of literature and art? Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art requires that the writers go deep into life and the masses, steadfastly uphold the stand of the people and serve the people, primarily, the worker-peasant-soldier masses. We should uphold this unswervingly.

At the same time, a scientific analytical approach should also be adopted toward Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. We should not approach the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" with the attitude that "every sentence is truth" or "sufficient for use for a lifetime" because it is simply not, and completely violates, Marxist principles. Longstanding practice proves that the following ideas expounded in the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" are incorrect: the theories of subordinating literature and art to politics, and absolute separation of political criteria from artistic criteria, classifying the human nature formed in set societies in one single term as class nature (this is directly in contradiction with the expression in his letters to Comrade Lei Jingtian), comparing the writers who opposed the Kuomintang rule and came to Yanan retaining petit bourgeois habits to the Kuomintang and putting such writers on a par with the class of big landlords, and the big bourgeoisie. These have exercised unfavorable influence on the development of literature and art since the founding of the PRC. Examples in point are his repeated launching of storm-like mass criticism of literary and art workers and his two instructions in 1963 and 1964 on literary and art work (the two instructions had been officially considered incorrect by the CCP Central Committee). The last two ideas cited were the immediate and long-term reasons he had in mind in launching the "Great Cultural Revolution." It must be recognized that Comrade Mao Zedong lacked a full understanding of and proper confidence in contemporary writers, artists and intellectuals in general so that he erroneously regarded them as part of the bourgeoisie, and went so far as to regard them as "figures of the sinister line" or "monsters and demons." By availing themselves of this mistake, the counter-revolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing carried out ruthless persecution of intellectuals. We must always bear this bitter lesson in mind.

Therefore, regarding the correct kernel of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art, we should safeguard and develop it resolutely. However, as to certain incorrect aspects, we should not follow the same old disastrous road. The decision of the CCP Central Committee that, when conducting criticism, no encirclement, coercion or exaggeration should be made, is an acceptance of the historical experience. With regard to different people, works and viewpoints, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis of the concrete problems. Once an encirclement or a movement is conducted, it will surely depart from the attitude of reasoning things out and the correct policy of starting from the desire for unity and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. On the other hand, we should also notice that Comrade Mao Zedong also expressed some good ideas on the question of literature and art in his later years. For example, was not the slogan "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" put forward in the first half of the 1960's? All of us agree with it now. The reform of traditional opera was also correct in principle. Otherwise there would be no weeding through the old to bring forth the new. With regard to fine art and figure painting, he also expressed a correct opinion on them. To date many comrades

who are rather conservative still find it difficult to accept this opinion. In 1957, it was also Comrade Mao Zedong who approved the showing of the films "The Pioneers" and "Great Wall in the South Sea," the publication of the second volume of "Li Zicheng," a historical novel by Comrade Yao Zueyin, the republication of the complete works of Lu Xun and the expansion of the Lu Xun memorial hall and the holding of concerts in memory of Nie Er and Xian Xinghai, and put forward again the slogan of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," puncturing temporarily the arrogance of Jiang Qing and her ilk who lorded it over the literary and art front. In brief, I hope the comrades can spend some more efforts on this question and study Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art conscientiously and comprehensively. Do not make this or that deduction by taking a simple and inexplicit concept as a major premise, for it will be difficult for people to understand what your concept means, what aspects it comprises and what aspects it does not comprise. The leading comrades of the PLA greatly supported Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal that we should say two sentences and not one on the question of "three support's and two military's." We should also adopt this analytical attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. Only in this way does it conform to materialism and dialectics and can we combine in a scientific way Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art with the Marxist-Leninist thinking on literature and art.

Question No 5 is how should literary and art work treat historical questions such as the "Great Cultural Revolution," and how should it treat the bright and seamy sides of real life? This question should be answered by writers and artists because they can explain it better. Many writers and artists have supplied concrete, vivid answers with their outstanding works. However, some writers and artists who are present at this forum hope that I would say a few words on this topic on which the literary and art circles and the press circles are concerned. I think there is no harm in my exchanging views with you. I only proceed from the political angle to talk about this question because it is directly related to our current criticism of "Unrequited Love" and "The Sun and the Man."

The CCP Central Committee has pointed out in its document No 7 this year that literary and art works published in newspapers and other publications must adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and inspire the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work concertedly and vigorously to accomplish the great cause of the four modernizations and that they should fervently praise the socialist-minded new people and the pioneers of modernization. The purpose of exposing and criticizing the seamy side of life is to correct mistakes and stress the need of a correct stand and viewpoint, so as to enhance people's confidence and strength and to guard against negative influence. A great number of works exposing the struggle against rightists, the "struggle against rightist deviations" and the decade-long turmoil have been published in the past few years. The publication of a great number of works on these themes over the past few years is inevitable. The overwhelming majority of writers created these works out of their sense of responsibility to history and the people and out of their revolutionary fervor. Generally speaking, these works are beneficial and play an active role in revealing the history of the past, criticizing the leftist mistakes, exposing the crimes of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and portraying the brave fight put up by the party members and the masses who took a correct stand. It should be pointed out



to comrades in the literary and art circles that they should write less on these themes, although they are allowed to write on them in the future. The reason is that too many of the works on these themes will produce negative results. In my opinion, this directive issued by the CCP Central Committee is very important, very comprehensive and very timely. It applies to all sectors of artistic work, especially to films which have a vast audience. The appearance of large numbers of scenes portraying smashing, grabbing, brutality, insidiousness, terror, savagery and despair, as seen during the "Great Cultural Revolution," on the screen is not only incompatible with the needs of the people who are now fighting bravely to rebuild their socialist lives but also incomprehensible to the youths and children. Some of the audience may even imitate these actions, accept the wrong things and mistake these scenes as a true portrayal of the relationship between one man and another, the socialist system, the party's principles and the future of socialist China. They may think that after all the bad people form groups and seize power and the good people are isolated and suffer. Films have their strong points but are also subjected to limitations. It is very difficult for a film to explain the occurrence of a complicated historical incident. Unlike literary works, a film cannot provide the audience with conditions for repeated viewing, thorough rumination and long-term commenting. The filmmakers create their works for the purpose of criticizing the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, under the circumstances mentioned above, their works may, contrary to their original intention, produce the results of expanding and extending the shadow of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was not until 5 years after the downfall of the "gang of four" that our party could make a scientific summary of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and some other historical questions after the founding of the PRC. The purpose of this summary is to put an end to the mistakes of the past and to encourage the whole party and the whole Chinese people to work concertedly to build a modern socialist country. It is also our hope that writers and artists of the whole country will shift the focus of their creative work to the current struggle to build a new life. Of course, history cannot be forgotten and chopped off, still less be concealed and altered. Undoubtedly, the audience now still needs some literary and art works which correctly expose the seamy side of history, compare it with the bright sides of the past, the present and the future, have a profound moral and, at the same time, give an all-round portrayal of a matter and convey a firm belief. However, in no way should we say that the majority of works should concentrate on portraying the history of the decade-long turmoil or the most abominable things during this period of time. One (except a historian or a historical and literary writer) who looks back too often can hardly make progress. This is also true for a nation. We do not have the right to stop writers from portraying the unfortunate historical events which they know very well, but we have the duty to tell them our wish that when they recount these historical events they should give the audience confidence, hope and strength. We also have the duty to express the hope that the editorial departments of newspapers, magazines and publishing houses, the film studios, the dramatic troupes and other units concerned set a high standard when they present such literary and art works. Of course, still higher standards should be set for works on other subject matters, such as thrillers and detective stories, and we should not confine our scope of vision to money. To be fair, I should say that, judging from what I have seen and heard, most of the short, medium-length and long novels on the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the films portraying the same theme are quite good although a few of them touch on a low key. Very exceptional are "Unrequited Love"

and "The Sun and the Man" which force on the audience a feeling of terror and despair as if there is not even a bright spot in socialist China and brightness exists only in a capitalist country. Even after the "Great Cultural Revolution," the hero of one of these two works died in the snow, leaving behind a question mark he had made by crawling on the snow. In the film based on the other work, a line of dots appeared behind the sun, implying that history in which man worships God and God makes a fool of man and persecutes him will never end. No! History does not develop in the way Comrades Bai Hua and Peng Ning have envisioned. Our party not only smashed the "gang of four" but also firmly negated the theory and practice of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and won victories during the period from the 3d Plenary Session to the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It is true that writers and artists, like all of us, experienced hardships in the past. Lu Xun firmly held this purpose when he started writing novels: "To attain this target (of healing the diseases of the old society), I must keep pace with the forerunners. So, I discard some darkness and put in some happiness so that my works may look somewhat bright." He said in his "Letter From Beijing": "I myself have nothing to fear...however, it is difficult for me to talk to the young people. It is like a blind man riding a horse. If I lead them astray, I shall have committed the sin of murdering a great number of people." How seriously Lu Xun considered the effect his works might have on society, especially the influence they might exercise on the younger generation, even in the dark old China and even though he was not yet a communist at that time! China today is completely different from the dark old China. We should all the more emulate Lu Xun's spirit of assuming responsibility for society and for the young people, so as to prevent the hearts of the young people from suffering unexpected traumas which are difficult to heal.

When we have solved the question of correctly handling the seamy side of the history after the founding of the PRC, it does not mean that we can easily adopt a correct attitude toward the seamy side of life. We hope that writers will devote greater energies to portraying the people's current struggle to build a new life. This does not mean encouraging them to extol the good times, still less to write sentimental novels. The path of building a new life was not smooth in the past, is not so at present and will not be so in the future. Building a new life is a spectacular, protracted, very complicated and very arduous struggle affecting the whole course of life of every one of the Chinese people. We can move forward only when we have overcome the hardships in society and in the natural world. What is true, good and beautiful is correlative with what is false, bad and ugly, and they develop in the course of struggle against each other. For this reason, in most of the relatively complicated narrative works, eulogy is invariably linked with exposure (this refers to the mutual relations between them and I do not mean that literary and art works are exclusively used for eulogizing or exposing). In his address to the forum on script writing, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "we should lavish ink on subject matters reflecting the concerted efforts currently made by the people of all nationalities throughout the country to accomplish the four modernizations." He seriously added: "I suggest that when portraying the march toward the four modernizations, you relentlessly expose the wrong deeds and ideas which hinder this march." In real life, there are happy moments and painful experiences, and there are ideal things as well as filthy things. We should not open one eye to what we want to see, and shut the other eye to what we do not want to see. In all circumstances, we must take the

overall situation into consideration and see the mainstream and the future clearly. Our writers and artists, especially those who are party members, should at all times adopt a positive attitude toward the future of the state, the people and socialist China. The people do not want any works which portray loss of confidence and are pessimistic. Some writers may produce great works to educate the people by taking a correct stand to profoundly portray some negative aspects of the past and the present. However, in my opinion, these works cannot educate the people more and be greater than those which portray the struggle to build a new life.

Five years have passed since the end of the "Great Cultural Revolution." We have made giant strides in our cause since after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. However, our country still lags very far behind in many aspects. This nevertheless does not prevent us from producing great artistic works. Russia and some Scandinavian and Eastern European countries were backward during the 19th century, and yet great writers and artists came forward. Today's China is much more advanced than Russia at that time, and we have much better conditions for producing great literary and art works. Our party's current cultural policy is beyond comparison not only with that of the czarist government but also with that during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and even during the 17 years before it. We seriously carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." We have created conditions for writers and artists to go deep among the people, to portray the actual situation and publish their works. If these conditions are not enough, we can create some more. If there are mistakes in our work, we will strive to correct them. In the past few years, large numbers of young and middle-aged writers and artists have emerged. They are making continuous efforts to advance. Old writers and artists have also actively resumed their work. This is an inspiring era, unprecedented in Chinese history over the past several thousand years. We hope this forum will cause literature and art to prosper and promote the production of new, excellent and great works. We criticize "Unrequited Love" and other erroneous works and the decadent bourgeois liberalization thinking for the very purpose of greeting this great victory of which we are confident of winning.

Thank you all for spending more than 3 hours listening to me speak. Because I have not studied the conditions very thoroughly, some of my remarks are bound to be inaccurate. Please feel free to give your opinions.

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## ON EMANCIPATING THE MIND AND OPPOSING BOURGEOIS LIBERALIZATION

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[Article by Yu Yiding [0060 0001 0002]]

[Text] To criticize various wrong tendencies, in particular the social trend of thought which reflects diversion from the socialist way, breaking off from the party leadership and promotion of bourgeois liberalization, is at present one of the important tasks on the ideological front. However, some people insist that criticism of bourgeois liberalization hampers emancipation of the mind and goes against the spirit of the third plenary session. This view, which is completely wrong, obliterates the distinction between emancipation of the mind and bourgeois liberalization, and sets the guideline of emancipating the mind put forth at the third plenary session against opposing bourgeois liberalization. Therefore, it is necessary to clear away the confusion caused thereby.

### I

Nobody who respects facts can deny that emancipation of the mind, as well as opposition to bourgeois liberalization, has been the consistent guideline of our party since the third plenary session.

In December 1978, at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we resolutely criticized the wrong guideline of "two whatevers," set up the guideline of emancipating our minds, using our brains, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and adopting a forward-looking attitude; and thus appealed "to all comrades in the party and the people throughout the country to emancipate our minds, earnestly study new circumstances, new matters and new problems under the direction of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from reality in everything and integrating theory with reality." Based on this we can see that the guideline of emancipating the mind opposes the "leftist" mistakes of absolutism and dogmatism with regard to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and also opposes the rightist mistake of negating the guiding role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

At the conference on ideological work convened in March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated in his speech the necessity of upholding the four basic principles, namely, upholding the socialist road, upholding proletarian dictatorship, upholding the CCP's leadership and upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.



He said: "A small bunch of people are fostering an ideological trend in society which doubts or even opposes the four basic principles. Ignoring its perniciousness, a few people in our party have even gone so far as to directly or indirectly support such an ideological trend to a certain extent." Later in March 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out again in a talk that we should oppose both "leftist" and rightist practices in emancipating our minds. At the very beginning when we put forth the slogan of emancipating the mind, our spearhead was directed at the "two whatevers," and stress was put on correcting "leftist" mistakes. However, a rightist tendency emerged later. So, naturally we had to put a check on it. In other words, to emancipate our minds, we have to oppose two wrong tendencies, and wage struggles on both fronts.

Comrade Ye Jianying further elaborated the purposes and detailed requirements of emancipating the mind at the meeting celebrating the 30th anniversary of the PRC in 1979. He said: "In the last analysis, the purpose of emancipating the mind is to achieve the unity of the whole party and the people throughout the country so as to realize the four modernizations step by step and in a down-to-earth and planned way. We want no boastful practices, no lies, no exaggerated promises, and no empty words. Emancipating the mind means observing, understanding and proceeding with things according to the objective law."

In January 1980, in his report entitled "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" expounding on the correct attitude which a party member should hold toward the party's guidelines, principles and policies, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Nobody is allowed to willfully spread his own speeches which show lack of trust, resentment or even hostility toward the line, guiding principles and policies of the CCP Central Committee," "all ideological trends of anarchism which have been introduced into the party by the 'gang of four' and those of bourgeois liberalism newly emerging in various forms in the party must be resolutely liquidated."

In February 1980, at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further emphasized that emancipation of the mind could never deviate from the track of the four basic principles. What does emancipation of the mind mean? In his opinion, one will in effect oppose the party and the people if one diverges from the track of the four basic principles and "emancipates one's mind" like the people at the "Xidan Wall." In referring to emancipation of the mind, we mean breaking away from the trammels of the force of habit and our own subjective prejudice to study new circumstances and solve new problems under the direction of Marxism. By no means should emancipation of the mind lead to a diversion from the four basic principles, or upset the lively political situation of stability and unity.

In December 1980, in his speech to a central work conference, Comrade Deng Xiaoping reiterated the guiding principle of emancipating the mind. He said: "To emancipate our mind means according our thinking with reality and the subjective with the objective world; in other words, it is seeking truth from facts. In all our future work, we must continue to emancipate the mind if we want to earnestly uphold seeking truth from facts. Obviously it is wrong to think that emancipation of the mind has already reached an appropriate end or even gone too far." In the meantime, he also emphasized the necessity of "criticizing and opposing the tendencies of adoring capitalism and advocating bourgeois

liberalization" along with the criticism against and opposition to the influence of remnants of feudalism.

The resolution adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee convened in June 1981 summarized the whole course of emancipation of the mind since the 3d plenary session. The "resolution" affirmed the fact that a vast number of cadres and masses had cast off the yoke of the personality cult and dogmatism in responding to the party Central Committee's call to emancipate the mind, and that an encouraging scene whereby people inside and outside the party were earnestly studying new circumstances to solve new problems was emerging; the decision made by the central work conference in December 1980 to strengthen ideological and political work, to step up the building of socialist spiritual civilization, to criticize the wrong thinking which went against the four basic principles, and to take strong measures against counterrevolutionary activities aiming at sabotaging the socialist cause, had resulted in important and positive effects in safeguarding the lively political situation of stability and unity in the whole country. Thus, the "resolution" further called for a persistent resistance to the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and remnants of feudal ideology and the elimination of all wrong thinking which diverged from the party's correct principles.

Through the review of history we can sum the experience up into the following points: First, the emancipation of the mind our party advocates, primarily and principally, aims at liberating our cadres and the masses from the trammels of the leftist mistakes made before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the yoke of "two whatevers," so as to bring them back onto the scientific track of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Second, fundamentally speaking, to emancipate the mind means opposition to idealism, upholding materialism, respecting and acting according to the objective law, applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to reviewing new circumstances and solving new problems, and according thinking with reality and the subjective to the objective. Third, in emancipating our minds, we have to cast off the influence of feudal remnants and bourgeois thinking, smash all trammels of the force of habit and subjective prejudice and conscientiously establish a proletarian stand, viewpoint and method. Fourth, it is imperative that the emancipation of the mind be kept in line with the four basic principles and be carried out under the direction of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. For this reason, we must wage struggles on both fronts in the course of emancipating the mind; all mistakes should be opposed, no matter whether "leftist" or rightist. Since there actually exists an ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization which shows the tendency of getting rid of the party's leadership, we should absolutely oppose it so as to ensure the healthy development of the movement to emancipate the mind. In view of this, it is utterly groundless to say that the criticism against bourgeois liberalization hampers the emancipation of the mind and goes against the spirit of the third plenary session.

## II

Between emancipation of the mind and bourgeois liberalization there is a clear-cut demarcation line which should never be obscured. However, those who promote bourgeois liberalization always flaunt the banner of emancipating the mind and

dress up their speeches and acts of doubting or opposing the four basic principles in the garb of emancipating the mind. They distort the meaning of emancipation of the mind and use it as a shield for bourgeois liberalization. In their point of view, to emancipate the mind means to smash the trammels of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and break away from the restrictions of the four basic principles, so that they can say what they want to say, write what they want to write and do what they want to do without being bound by any restriction; in short, they are asking for absolute freedom. As the primary argument and theoretical basis of bourgeois liberalization, absolute freedom can still find certain support and remain quite influential among some of the intellectuals and young people. Therefore, we should not overlook the role it plays.

Marxism tells us that freedom is the recognition of necessity. That is to say, freedom does not spring from any imaginary achievement of independence from the objective law, but rests on recognition of the objective law, which enables us to make use of the objective law to fulfill certain goals in a planned way. Speaking in the field of society, freedom, as a political right, is always related to law. This is a universal rule which covers everything. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Democracy and freedom are not absolute, but relative. Both of them emerge and develop in the course of history." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 368) This is really a scientific truth.

In capitalist society, which is built on money and power, it is impossible for the laboring people who are economically exploited to obtain real and solid freedom. In contrast to capitalist countries, we socialist countries have matchlessly expanded the range of freedom and raised the degree of freedom. But such freedom is not absolute either. Socialist freedom is subject to the restriction by socialist law and discipline. Freedom in our country is freedom for the broad masses of the people. However, if we give up the dictatorship over enemies, and refuse to apply sanctions and punishment to criminals, the freedom for the broad masses of the people cannot be guaranteed. A party has its own discipline which every party member has to observe. A state has its own law by which every citizen has to abide. No special member in our party is allowed to ignore the party's discipline; similarly, no special citizen in our country is allowed to despise the country's law. For a loyal party member and citizen, to abide by discipline and law is by no means lack of freedom but on the contrary an act of his own free will. In view of the fact that the party's discipline and the state's law embody and safeguard the people's interests, a party member and a citizen will never do anything which is considered pernicious to the people's interests. Even in some cases for which the party's discipline and the state's law have not concretely stipulated, they will think the matter over and judge if their speeches and acts are advantageous to the people. If they are advantageous, they will do; otherwise, they will not. They will never speak and act in an unruly way. In short, in our country, there is freedom for those who abide by the law and discipline; and there is no freedom for those who violate the law and discipline. Based on the above-mentioned fact, those who advocate absolute freedom concluded that freedom is limited and restricted in our country, and so forth. This is indeed a kind of slander on the socialist society and the people's democratic dictatorship.

The basic tasks of the ideological front, as an important front for the proletarian revolutionary cause, is to arm the people's minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, enable them to correctly appraise the direction and future of the country and the nation, increase their confidence and arouse their morale in the struggle for realizing the lofty goal of socialism and communism. In other words, the ideological front is responsible for whipping up public opinion and pointing out the direction. It should always render well-defined concepts and clear-cut images so as to enable people to be aware of what, and how, they should do or not do. If newspapers, magazines, movies, novels, articles or other works fail to give people confidence, hope and force, they do not meet the requirements of the party and the people; and this implies that they are questionable. Today, some people speak and write wantonly regardless of the influence and aftereffects. For example, they willfully exaggerate the party's shortcomings and mistakes, deliberately vilify the party, play up the dark side of society without restraint, and describe obscene things in lurid detail. None of this does any good apart from making people lose their confidence and sapping their morale. The party and the people never want such distorted and misleading propaganda.

Accusing the four basic principles of being the "restrictions" which hamper emancipation of the mind and calling for "breaking away" from them is where the harm lies in bourgeois liberalization. There is no doubt that emancipation of the mind needs to break away from a lot of restrictions. But, it is the old and wrong restrictions that we must break away from. All scientific and correct restrictions (here we keep the term restriction for the moment) can never be abandoned. On the contrary, they should be observed. Mencius said: "We cannot draw a square without a ruler and a circle without a pair of compasses." This is common sense as well as a truth. The emancipation of the mind needs "rulers and compasses" too. These "rulers and compasses" can also be called "restrictions." Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Marxism does have some conventions. Some of ours are big conventions, and we certainly are not generally opposed to conventions." ("Speech at the Forum on Literature and Art and the Meeting on Feature Film Production") The four basic principles serve as "big conventions" and "big rulers and compasses" for emancipation of the mind, which should not be violated and smashed. Just as pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, "the violation of any one of the four basic principles will mean undermining the whole socialist cause and modernization cause." Since the third plenary session, our party has set up step by step a correct road to build a strong socialist and modernized state which conforms with our national condition. This is a great achievement by the emancipation of the mind. Is this a result of upholding the four basic principles or breaking away from them? The conclusion is really clear for all people without political prejudice. In fact, the four basic principles impose no obstacle to the emancipation of the mind but to bourgeois liberalization. Is it conceivable that we ought not to step up obstruction of bourgeois liberalization?

The essence of upholding the four basic principles rests on upholding the party's leadership, while that of bourgeois liberalization rests on opposing the party's leadership. Those who promote bourgeois liberalization advocate that the party should "govern by doing nothing that goes against nature"; frankly speaking, they actually want to get rid of the party's leadership. They complain that the party's leadership is always accompanied by "violent intervention," and that this hampers the "double hundred" policy from being carried out. Such a view, which



goes against the fundamental interests of the people of all nationalities throughout the country and the objective truth, is completely wrong. Without the party's leadership, there could never be a socialist new China and our country would fall apart. This has been fully proved by historical practice over the past 60 years or more. Similarly, without the party's leadership, the series of guidelines and policies for setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder would never have taken shape since the third plenary session, and the ongoing movement of emancipation of the mind, which is of vital importance to the fate and the future of our country and nation, would never have emerged. The purpose of our party in raising the emancipation of the mind is not to weaken or even annul the party's leadership but to improve and strengthen it so as to enable the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to reach a unity of understanding on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The party's leadership represents the interests of the masses of the people and pools their wisdom. To promote so-called "emancipation of the mind" while divorcing oneself from the party's leadership will only go against and harm the party's leadership. For sure, our party's leadership still has certain shortcomings and thus needs continual improvement. However, weakening and abolishing the party's leadership under the pretext of improving the party's leadership is strictly prohibited. Those who promote bourgeois liberalization have wantonly diffused their views showing suspicion and opposition to the party under the excuse of emancipation of the mind; obviously they are either bewildered or have an axe to grind. We can never relax our vigilance against them.

"To smash the trammels of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought" means denying the directive role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the emancipation of the mind. As everybody knows, emancipation of the mind is not a subconscious action but an arduous mental work. On the other hand, as no one's mind ever remains "truly empty," his behavior is always directed by a certain ideology. The question rests on whether one is willing to be directed by wrong and reactionary ideology or advanced and scientific ideology. Is there any ideology which was ever more advanced and scientific than Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in our times? Of course such a question is controversial among different classes in the world. But, should there ever be any disagreement concerning this question within our party and among our people? As everybody knows, it is stipulated in the party's and the state's constitutions that the theoretical basis guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Therefore, emancipation of the mind must be carried out under the direction of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is not only a problem concerning abiding by the party's discipline and the state's law, but also a necessary requirement for emancipation of the mind to healthily develop and achieve success. In other words, if it deviates from the direction of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the emancipation of the mind will surely be driven along a wrong road. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out many times: "How are you going to emancipate the mind without a solid knowledge of Marxism? The only things you can offer are anarchism and bourgeois liberalization." More than 70 years ago Lenin taught us: "By /following the path/ [in boldface] of Marxian theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by /following any other path/ [in boldface] we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 143) History has shown that this is an irrefutable truth which we should always bear in mind.

No matter from which aspect it is viewed, to misinterpret emancipation of the mind as absolute freedom subject to no restriction or bondage is wrong. From the viewpoint of what the advocates of absolute freedom say, write, and do, we may say that their field of vision has never gone beyond the limits of bourgeois thoughts. For this reason, we may conclude that the theory of absolute freedom is the basic theory of bourgeois liberalization. To prove that, we just take a look at what they have done. They advocated the so-called "theory of natural rights," and the slogan of "liberty, equality, universal love"; they tried to transplant the bourgeois multiparty system, parliamentarism, contested election system, and so on, to socialist China. Can these be called new viewpoints? Yes, they were new and were called "new learning" before Marxism-Leninism was disseminated in China. At that time, many ardent people with lofty ideals tried to redeem China with these theories; unfortunately all their efforts met with failure. Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly elaborated on this problem in his works such as "On New Democracy," "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," and so on. Now some people just forget or even simply do not understand these lessons of history. They have picked up those things that have been proved invalid in many experiments by our forerunners, look upon them as magic weapons and offer them to the people of modern China. They claim to be pioneer fighters of emancipation of the mind of our time although they are actually falling behind the times. They imagine that they are pushing history ahead although they are actually a drag on history. Indeed this is both ridiculous and lamentable. Undoubtedly, our country will meet with a lot of problems and difficulties on the road to socialism. However, just as history has shown, we cannot rely on those bourgeois spirits of the 18th century; we can only rely on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in solving these problems and difficulties. Some of those who advocate and preach that emancipation of the mind equals absolute freedom are trying to diverge from the socialist track--they are facing the 18th century with their back to the 20th century; or in other words, they are departing from the socialist homeland and yearning for the Western bourgeois world due to their infatuation with the 18th century bourgeois spirits and the dazzling world of modern capitalism. Can this conceivably be freedom of thought and not spiritual bondage? Can this conceivably be mental emancipation and not mental ossification? In our opinion, they do not have the least freedom of thought, and it is definitely not emancipation of the mind. To fall into the trap of bourgeois ideology while flaunting the banner of emancipation of the mind and absolute freedom is exactly the essence and logic of their thinking.

### III

During the 3 years and more since the party's policy of emancipating the mind was put forth, it has already played an inestimably great role in correcting the leftist mistakes in the party's guiding ideology, in breaking the fetters of bourgeois ideology, of the remnant feudal ideology and of the force of habit of small production and in building the four modernizations that must be undertaken in the light of China's national condition. However, because people differ in their understanding of this policy (some people even distort and misinterpret it), its implementation has never been smooth sailing. The course of its development shows there are two kinds of interference with its implementation: namely, a complete disapproval of the emancipation of the mind, which is the manifestation of the "leftist" thinking, and a distortion of the emancipation of the mind by treating it as bourgeois liberalization, which is the manifestation of the

rightist thinking. In the past, it was the "leftist" tendency that hampered the implementation of the policy, but at present the emergence and existence of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization should draw more attention from us. The recent national forum on the problems on the ideological front was held for the purpose of emphatically solving this problem.

The ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization that exists in society and, to a certain extent, inside the party, has hampered the party's unity, impaired the people's unity and endangered social stability. If we do not oppose or criticize this trend, and allow it to run rampant, it will bring about unimaginably great damage and a few people may destroy our great cause. Meanwhile, failure to criticize bourgeois liberalization is also detrimental to overcoming ossification of the mind and to the continuous correction of "leftist" mistakes. Some people whose minds are ossified and who have stubbornly clung to the leftist mistakes repeatedly allege, "Look what has happened. This is all the outcome of emancipating the mind." This allegation is certainly wrong, but it may very possibly confuse people's thinking when it is used to stir up opposition to the emancipation of the mind. Failure to oppose bourgeois liberalization will "liberate" all kinds of antisocialist microbes and allow them to "prosper." This will not only endanger the socialist cause, but will also be detrimental to the implementation of the policy of emancipating the mind.

Bourgeois liberalization is not a problem concerning a few individuals; it is emerging in front of us as a social ideological trend. Its emergence is hardly surprising under the situation whereby class struggle has long existed and still exists to a certain extent, and under the constant influence of bourgeois ideology. Nevertheless, we should face this problem squarely and never fail to guard against it. Advocates of bourgeois liberalization differ greatly. In order to correctly and effectively fight bourgeois liberalization, we should objectively analyze the problems and adopt different methods to solve them.

There are some people who adopt a completely antagonistic stand and hate the new China, the Communist Party and socialism to the marrow of their bones. They have distorted at will the slogan of emancipating the mind and use it for propagating decadent bourgeois ideology and the bourgeois way of life, so as to lure and deceive the politically childish and inexperienced youths and poison and bewitch their minds. They have raised the banners of "democracy," "freedom," "human rights" and "reform" to publicly carry out antiparty, antisocialist activities. They disregard the interests of the country and the nation and desire to see the nation in chaos. Though their number is small and though they cannot change the direction of the development of history, we should by no means slacken our proper vigilance or overlook the harm they can do. We should severely criticize and fight against their antiparty and antisocialist words and deeds and mete out legal punishment where appropriate.

Some comrades do not adopt an antagonistic stand, but they entertain fairly serious and stubborn bourgeois prejudices and they often depart from the proletarian stand, viewpoints and methods and adopt the bourgeois stand, viewpoints and methods in treating things. They lack the confidence in and enthusiasm for socialism they should have, but have blind faith in and illusions about capitalism. There are such comrades inside the party as well as in society. Some party

members and party cadres have forgotten the principles of party spirit and the party discipline and they turn a blind eye to bourgeois liberalization, refuse to admit its existence, or sympathize with, echo or support it, or even participate in it to some extent. Some other comrades have done some good work in criticizing "leftism" and correcting the "two whatevers" in the course of emancipating the mind, but they have thereby become imprudent and proud and failed to consider what social results their words and deeds might bring about, thus they consciously or unconsciously depart from the correct path of emancipating the mind. Regarding the mistakes of these comrades (whether inside or outside the party, especially those inside the party), we should proceed from the desire for unity and carry out serious criticism and education, and even necessary and appropriate struggle. It will be of no good to the party, the people and these comrades themselves if we are overlenient with them. Helping these comrades to overcome liberalization is the focal point in our present struggle against the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization.

For most of those who have been engaged in bourgeois liberalization, their mistakes are a problem concerning ideology and understanding. This is especially true for a few youths. Being brought up in the new society, these youths have a poor understanding of modern China, the Chinese revolution and the CCP, have no personal experience of the differences between the new and the old societies, know nothing about the essence and reality of capitalist society and entertain various kinds of illusions and muddled ideas. These illusions and ideas, aggravated by the impact of the decade of chaos and the corrosion of bourgeois ideology from abroad, often make them unable to tell right from wrong and become the victims of the social ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. Regarding these comrades, especially the young ones, we should in the main educate and guide them to raise their ideological consciousness so that they will draw lessons from their mistakes, correct their thinking, grow up healthily and forge ahead along a correct path.

The struggle against the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is a kind of deep and meticulous ideological work. It cannot be done by adopting a simple and rough method. It should be done not only firmly and resolutely but also by seeking truth from facts, distinguishing between different cases and upholding the method of reasoning to persuade people. Comrade Mao Zedong said that criticism of all sorts of erroneous ideology "should not be dogmatic, and the metaphysical method should not be used, but instead the effort should be made to apply the dialectical method. What is needed is scientific analysis and convincing argument." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 392) This is indeed a Marxist-Leninist principle which we should follow to the letter.

The struggle against bourgeois liberalization cannot be accomplished in a single stroke. It is a long-term task. Bourgeois ideology and its influence is very stubborn and it will find expression in various forms concerning political and ideological problems along with the changes in the situation. It is impossible to put an end to this ideology once and for all. We must be clearly aware of this. In emancipating the mind, we should never feel satisfied or stop making progress, and in fighting against bourgeois liberalization we should be prepared to wage a tenacious struggle. In order to build a powerful socialist modern country with a high degree of democracy and civilization, let us all become promoters in emancipating the mind and staunch fighters against bourgeois liberalization.



## ON LEFTIST MISTAKES AND THEIR ORIGIN

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 29-30

[Article by Fang Qiao [2455 0829]]

[Text] In the course of studying the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," some comrades have asked: Why did leftist mistakes constantly occur in the revolution and construction led by our party? Why did the "resolution" not mention class origin when analyzing the leftist mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution"? Here are some of my views on these two questions.

Judging from the history of the party, there are many reasons for the occurrence of leftist mistakes. It is easy to make leftist mistakes precisely because our subjective knowledge is not in keeping with objective reality and our estimate of the revolutionary situation is overly optimistic. For example, in the struggle for political power, because we overestimated our own strength, exaggerated the consciousness of the masses, underestimated the strength of the enemy, exaggerated the difficulties of the enemy and lacked adequate knowledge of the difficulties that must be experienced in winning victory for the revolution, we easily made the leftist mistake of being impatient for quick success. During the socialist period, because of the great victory won by the revolution, we consequently overestimated the role of the ruling party and its leaders, overestimated the consciousness of the masses and held that "every kind of miracle can be performed." This also easily resulted in the leftist mistake of being impatient for quick success.

Naturally, it is completely understandable for the Communist Party leading the people in revolutionary struggle to hope for the early success of the revolution. However, paying too little attention to avoiding unnecessary losses in obtaining early success for the revolution or not paying attention to investigation and study and summing up experiences would result in impetuous and rash advance. The party definitely wants to perform miracles and can perform miracles, but miracles which do not conform to objective laws can never be performed.

Our party also made the leftist mistake of exaggerating the "enemy's situation" in the party, unrealistically estimating the divergence of views in the party and exaggerating them into "two-line struggle" and "class struggle." It had regarded people with dissenting views as targets for criticism and struggle and

carried out excessive inner-party struggle. This struggle was not against the enemy but against our own comrades. Under the situation of the intense hostile struggle, the enemy would naturally use every means to infiltrate the party to sabotage it, and we must heighten our vigilance in this respect. However, changing this kind of vigilance into groundless suspicions or even judgments and conclusions could easily magnify the leftist mistake of class struggle. During the socialist period, on several occasions, we made the mistake of exaggerating the "enemy's situation" in the party. This developed into the "Great Cultural Revolution," expanded the class struggle in society into the party, resulted in a search for capitalist-roads and bourgeoisie in the party, seriously confused the two categories of contradictions and caused distressing losses.

The two kinds of leftist mistakes mentioned above are caused by the gap between the subjective and the objective. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Everything moves in space and time. Here I will deal chiefly with the question of time. If your observation of the movement of things does not agree with reality, it is a 'leftist' deviation if your judgment is premature, and it is a rightist deviation if your judgment lags behind." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 214) The first kind of leftist mistakes mentioned above belongs to this type of condition.

There is another condition for leftist mistakes. It is not because the "consciousness" of our party "is too high" and the masses cannot catch up, but because the things we have done are wrong. For example, the fatal mistakes made in the examination of the cadres' personal history and the beating, smashing and looting in the "Great Cultural Revolution" are mistakes of this type. These are not questions of being ahead of the time or being ahead of the masses. As a matter of fact, the more conscious the masses, the more they will oppose this method of doing things.

The origin of our leftist mistakes during the democratic revolution cannot be explained by the fanaticism or vacillation of the petite bourgeoisie. The "leftist" mistakes made by our party in the course of the revolution are a rather complicated problem. The cause of petit bourgeois ideas here also cannot be explained by means of petit bourgeois mentality. If we do not make a concrete historical analysis but simply use the method of class analysis, we will be making a pragmatic mistake. If we use this method as a kind of tool and turn it into a ready-made method of explanation, we will not be able to help the people understand the true cause of their mistakes. We know that the petite bourgeoisie is divided into social strata, and there is a very great difference between them. Therefore, we cannot use this label at random. Historical materialism requires extremely careful and concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and casual application of labels will simplify and vulgarize historical materialism.

Why has the "resolution" not used class origin to explain the leftist mistakes made by the party since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and particularly the serious mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution"? The reason is that this is not a question that can be explained by the use of class origin alone. Since the basic completion of socialist transformation, leftist mistakes are mainly of two kinds. The first is in politics, which also includes culture.

We have no objective, sufficient and comprehensive knowledge of the newly established socialist society. At the slightest sign of disturbance or trouble, we are used to looking for the cause in class struggle. Although we have set up a socialist system, this does not mean that we fully understand it. Even though we already have a correct understanding of some of the aspects, as a result of developments and changes, it may not necessarily correspond completely to the new conditions and problems. Another condition is the fact that things we used to understand can also be beyond our understanding or be misunderstood as a result of changes in objective conditions. Therefore, understanding is a complicated process not so easily achieved. In the spring of 1957 Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the principle of correctly handling contradictions among the people. However, not long afterward, class struggle was enlarged in the struggle against the right. Since then, this monster or specter of enlarging the class struggle has cast its shadow over our party for a very long time. The other is the leftist mistakes in economic construction. Like the mentality of seeking quick success during the revolutionary period, we also hope for quick success in construction. Apart from our lack of experience and our habit of using the old method of struggle, our arrogance and complacency as a result of the great victory of the revolution, exaggeration of the subjective role and refusal to accept dissenting views also have something to do with the leftist mistakes in the aforementioned directions. These are the factors giving rise to leftist mistakes in our understanding during the socialist period.

Not all mistakes made by people have a so-called class origin. People will make mistakes not only in classless society, but in class society also. Not all mistakes made by people can be said to have class origin. Just as mistakes in the domain of natural science cannot be explained by the use of class origin, even a question such as the "Great Cultural Revolution" cannot be explained by the use of class origin. Actually, did the "Great Cultural Revolution" correspond to the interests of any particular class? If you say that it corresponded to the interests of the proletariat, nobody will agree with that. If you say that it corresponded to the interests of the bourgeoisie, many of the bourgeoisie had been swept away, so how could it be said that it corresponded to the interests of the bourgeoisie? If you say that it corresponded to the interests of the petite bourgeoisie, who actually comprised the petite bourgeoisie during the "Great Cultural Revolution"? If you say that it corresponded to the interests of the peasants, the "Great Cultural Revolution" called for "cutting off the tail of capitalism," abolishing free markets and private plots and stopping household sideline production. Which of these points corresponded to the interests of the peasants? Did the "Great Cultural Revolution" correspond to the interests of the intellectuals? The "Great Cultural Revolution" had precisely nearly toppled all the intellectuals. Therefore, we must be responsible to history and cannot conjure up a class origin out of thin air. If we insist on finding a class origin, this will not only solve no problem, but will make the problem more complicated and give future generations the wrong impression that there was a so-called class in the party which gave rise to the "Great Cultural Revolution." If we insist on using class struggle to explain problems which cannot be explained by class struggle, then there will be no end to class struggle in our party. Therefore, the present method of explanation used by the "resolution" is more appropriate, for it will help us to correctly sum up historical experiences, further correct

the ideological line, more properly implement the line, policies and principles of the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, avoid repeating leftist mistakes and advance the smooth progress of socialist modernization!

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## STRIVE TO INCREASE THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 31-34

[Article by Commentator]

[Text] From Premier Zhao Ziyang's report at the fourth session of the Fifth NPC, we can see that China's economic situation this year has been very good--far better than expected. In agriculture, despite abnormal weather conditions and disasters in some places, total grain output this year is close to the 1979 level, which was a record high. Industrial crops such as cotton, oil, sugar and tobacco have scored big increases. Commune members' household sideline production has further developed and the peasants' living conditions have improved remarkably. An excellent situation has emerged in which agriculture promotes industry and commerce. Industrial readjustment has also made new progress. Light industry production has maintained a relatively high speed of growth; heavy industry production, which dropped in the first 6 months of this year, has begun to increase again. The scale of capital construction has been reduced and the orientation of investment has become more reasonable. A near balance between financial revenue and expenditure has been basically achieved, and commodity prices have been basically stable. This shows that our national economy has embarked on the road of steady development. All these achievements have been made through strenuous effort and toil and through earnest implementation by the whole party and the people of all nationalities throughout China of the policies formulated at the central work conference held last December. However, we should also understand that some destabilizing factors still exist in China's economy. The more outstanding problems are that the situation of poor industrial economic benefits has not greatly changed, that labor productivity in many enterprises has been reduced, that production costs have increased, that profits handed over to the higher authorities have dropped and that revenues have been adversely affected. In order to ensure smooth implementation of readjustment and reform and to improve the national economy, we must adopt different measures in various fields, and strive to enhance economic benefits. This is the key problem in economic construction.

Over the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, we have made great achievements in our economic construction and have completed an independent and fairly comprehensive industrial complex and economic system. However, under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we have, for a long time in the past, followed a road of low economic results, great waste and high consumption. Despite the rapid

progress of economic development, the people's livelihood has not correspondingly improved. In order to change this situation and to achieve steady progress in our national economy, we must proceed from our national condition, and blaze a new trail that will lead to the development of the economy at a realistic pace, with better economic results and more benefits for the people. This is a fundamental change in strategy for China's economic development.

The key to this new road lies in enhancing economic benefits, that is to say, in achieving the best production effect while consuming the least manpower, material and financial resources. In Marx' words, we should rationally regulate the material exchanges between mankind and nature in accordance with human nature and human conscience, so that the least possible amount of effort is required. (see "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, pp 926-927) This is a requirement of the basic socialist economic law. The aim of socialist production is to expend the least possible labor in producing the best quality and largest quantity of products to satisfy the people's material and cultural needs. Economic benefits eventually decide the degree to which the people's needs are satisfied.

Paying attention to economic benefits is of particular significance to China's socialist economic construction. Our country has a large population, a poor foundation to start with and a low level of economic development. Thus, the accumulation rate and investment rate should not be too high. Otherwise, it will be at the expense of consumption and will adversely affect the people's living conditions. Given limited construction funds, we should practice careful calculation and strict budgeting, practice economy and seek the greatest economic benefits so that we can use the least amount of investment to create the greatest production capability and use the least money to produce the greatest quantity of best-quality products. The main difficulty in economic construction is shortage of energy resources and funds. Shortage of energy resources hinders economic development. Owing to financial difficulties, the state is still unable to invest heavily in the construction of the energy industry. Even if it invests in the energy industry, immediate results cannot be obtained. What should we do then? We should earnestly save energy. China's energy utilization rate is very low. According to a rough estimate, China's national income-fuel consumption ratio is 1.3 times to 6 times that of some capitalist countries. It is twice the corresponding ratios of the developing countries. Compared with China's consumption in the past, the national income produced by every 10,000 tons of energy is about half that during the first 5-year plan. This shows that there is great potential for saving energy. If we carry out renovation of equipment and technical transformation of existing enterprises, replace the old "coal hungry," "electricity hungry" and "oil thirsty" equipment and hold back or stop the operation of enterprises with particularly high rates of consumption, we will be able to save tens of millions of tons of energy resources and use them where they are most urgently needed. Shortage of funds also hinders economic development. What should we do about this? One of the solutions is to use foreign funds. We must make use of everything beneficial to us. We must use foreign funds not only on large-scale projects, but also on medium- and small-scale projects which achieve good economic benefits and produce quick results. However, the crux lies in tapping domestic funds. We must broaden our horizons and pay attention to ways of making, accumulating and using money. In making money, we must first of all rely on existing enterprises, adopt correct policies, mobilize the work enthusiasm

of all the staff and workers and try to give full play to existing labor forces. Moreover, we must raise the technological and management level of the existing enterprises in order to reduce consumption in production, raise labor productivity, reduce production costs, increase production, reduce waste and create new wealth for the state. The accumulation of money is also very important. In recent years, there has been a great change in the distribution of our state funds. State-controlled funds have decreased and other funds have, comparatively speaking, increased. Although the state is in financial difficulty, some localities, enterprises and individuals are rich. If we give full play to the role of banks, maintain a balance between credit receipts and payments, and make overall plans, we will be able to turn idle money into useful money and collect the scattered and idle funds and spend them on economic construction. When considering the question of construction funds, we must also pay attention to displaying the superior features of China's labor forces. For example, the production responsibility system in the rural areas has mobilized the peasants' enthusiasm for work, promoted labor productivity and created surplus labor forces. Thus, we can mobilize the masses and invest their labor and services. As long as their labor is well organized, it will make up for the inadequate state funds and create new wealth. We must no longer ignore labor productivity and the results of projects. However, we can still carry out some effective small-scale capital construction projects on irrigation, afforestation, highways and bridges through investment of labor and services. The use of money also involves a lot of learning. We must study the ways of using our funds to get good and quick economic benefits. In short, when considering economic problems, we must give top priority to economic benefits. In production, in technical transformation and in capital construction, we must adopt measures to promote economic benefits. We must try to get more wealth, funds and energy resources through increasing economic benefits.

In order to increase economic benefits, we must continue to implement the principle of "readjustment, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading," do a good job in developing a well-proportioned national economy, carry out technical transformation of the existing enterprises, and implement an advanced technical and scientific management system.

Developing a well-proportioned national economy, and especially maintaining a balance between the production of the means of production and the production of the means of livelihood, is the basic condition for enhancing economic benefits. Through readjustment in previous years, the disproportion in the national economy has improved. However, the readjustment work is not yet complete and there is still a great deal to do. We must focus on energetically developing the consumer goods industry and continue to readjust the economic structure so that the structures of industry, production, technology and organization can gradually be rationalized and perfected. We must continue to depend on policies and science to enhance the economic benefits of agricultural production and accelerate its development, and must continue to rapidly develop the consumer goods industry. Despite the great development of consumer goods over the past years, their situation of underdevelopment has not changed fundamentally. Products still fall far short of the demands of the people, particularly of the broad masses of peasants. In view of social needs, we should continue to energetically develop the production of daily commodities, clothing, textile products,

foodstuffs (including beverages), civilian construction materials, chemical products for daily use, cultural and medical supplies, and goods for the tourist and service trades. We should ensure a thriving market, stabilize prices, increase employment, and satisfy the people's material and cultural needs. Moreover, this can increase profits and accumulate state funds. In order to maintain a continued growth of the production of the means of subsistence, we should correspondingly develop heavy industry. In the past, we blindly went after high speed, blindly expanded the scale of capital construction, one-sidedly developed heavy industry and neglected light industry. Now, during the period of readjustment, it is necessary to reduce investment in capital construction and slow the growth rate of heavy industry. However, if the reduction is too big, we will not be able to satisfy society's needs for the means of production, and this will adversely affect the social economy. In the first 6 months of this year, heavy industry, particularly the machine-building industry, has fallen behind too much. This is an urgent problem at present. We must try to invigorate heavy industry. The key to developing heavy industry lies in readjusting the orientation of service, expanding the scope of service and improving the quality of service. Heavy industry should serve the renovation of equipment and technical transformation of the existing enterprises, serve agriculture, serve light industry and serve export. In heavy industry, we must act according to this principle, and the principle of selecting the best according to the criterion of the effect of the energy consumed, and carry out enterprise readjustment and overall planning readjustment. For the sake of long-term needs, we should carry out some capital construction projects, and in particular the construction of the energy industry and of transportation and communications. We must pay attention to projects in operation, ensure the quality of these projects, reduce the construction cycle and enhance the investment effect.

As readjustment and reformation are a process and as there are limited energy resources and funds, China's economic construction will not be able to develop at a very high speed in the next few years. However, in order to satisfy the people's daily needs in production, we must maintain a certain rate of development. This speed should be realistic rather than exaggerated so that we can ensure quality, stress economic results, build up strength and lay a solid foundation. We must no longer blindly seek output values and high speed which might lead to overstocking of products.

In order to enhance social economic effect, it is necessary to persist in readjusting the economic system. China's current economic system has many defects. The most important ones include the overcentralization of power and the lack of a distinction between government and enterprises. This restricts the enthusiasm of localities, and particularly of enterprises. The separation of departments and the separation of localities hinder the rational allocation of productive forces and the comprehensive utilization of production resources, hinders the socialization and professionalization of production, and hinders cooperation and necessary competition arising from the socialization and professionalization of production. The overstaffing of management organizations, the indistinct division of labor and the internal wrangling severely affect work efficiency. The egalitarian tendency of "eating out of the same big pot" in distribution restricts the labor enthusiasm of the broad masses of staff and workers. All these problems should be solved through reforming the economic



system. We must carry out systematic reforms and create specific forms which suit our national condition, conform to the development of productive forces, and benefit the sound development of our national economy in ownership, management and distribution. We must properly handle the relationship between the planned economy and the regulation by market mechanism through reforms. We must give full play to the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism under the premise of adhering to the planned economy. Moreover, we must change the practice of managing the economy through administrative means alone. Instead, we should combine economic and administrative methods, and pay attention to the management of the economy by applying economic levers and economic rules. As the situation of industry is rather complicated and as it involves many things, we must be careful in carrying out industrial reforms. We must think out every move. However, we must be firm about the orientation of reforms. The expansion of the decisionmaking power of the enterprises and the implementation of the industrial economic responsibility system constitute important steps in the reform of the economic system. As economic reform is gradually realized, we can anticipate a great enhancement in the economic benefits of our national economy.

In order to enhance economic benefits, it is necessary to carry out technical transformation and renovation of equipment in existing enterprises in a systematic way. An important cause for the high consumption and low economic results of our country's economic construction is the backwardness of equipment and technology and the slow replacement of old products by new ones. The outdated and backward methods of labor determine that many industrial goods consume excessive social labor forces in the process of production. The slow replacement of old products by new ones leads to the continued production of backward machines and equipment. The use of old equipment continues the process of high consumption. Thus, a vicious cycle of backward equipment--high consumption--backward equipment--high consumption is created, affecting the capability of expanded reproduction. In order to change this situation, it is necessary to start from accelerating the renovation of equipment and carrying out technical transformation of existing enterprises in a systematic and planned way. This is the strategic orientation for invigorating China's economy. It is also the key for our national economy embarking on a cycle that is not harmful.

As our country has limited financial and material resources, we must focus on enhancing the economic benefits, pay attention to key enterprises, map out a plan, and carry out technical transformation of our national economy in a planned and systematic way. At present, we must attach importance to the weak links where only a small amount of investment is needed and it is within our capacity to produce immediate effects of decisive significance to the national economy. In this way, we can realize the goal of rapidly increasing production and enhancing economic benefits. We must successfully complete one project before starting another one. The main tasks of technical transformation include saving energy, saving raw materials, reducing consumption; improving the performance and quality of products, accelerating the replacement of old products by new ones, rationally utilizing resources and enhancing the level of comprehensive productivity. The equipment of many trades in light industry has not been renovated for a long time; it is a main item for renovation. The basic technology and testing methods of many industrial enterprises are backward and should be gradually renovated and transformed. We must strengthen scientific and research work.

On the one hand, we must get organized to overcome difficulties and promptly solve certain technical problems. On the other hand, we must accelerate the popularization and application of the fruits of scientific research and transform advanced science and technology into productive forces.

We have favorable conditions for carrying out technical transformation in existing enterprises. Our country has more than 100,000 machine-building enterprises, and we can say that their strength is great. The machine-building industry has accumulated rich experiences in equipping the various sectors of the national economy. At present, some equipment of the machine-building industry is lying idle and is not being fully utilized in production. This is a good opportunity to accelerate transformation (including the machine-building industry itself). We should mobilize the enthusiasm of the machine-building industry for serving the technical transformation of various sectors so that they primarily serve the technical transformation of existing enterprises instead of new enterprises. In this way, the technical progress of these sectors will be accelerated. In addition to the machine-building industry, all circles should mobilize the masses, carry out technical transformation, rely on themselves, and transform backward technology and equipment.

In order to increase economic benefits, it is necessary to carry out an all-around readjustment of existing enterprises by stages and groups. Technical equipment constitutes the material condition for enhancing economic benefits. Whether this material condition can be given full play depends on the enterprises' management level. Some of China's enterprises are well run, others are not. The latter have been improved through readjustment. However, on the whole, their management level is still not high, their rules and regulations are in need of amplification, economic results are poor and waste is serious. In some enterprises, the leading groups are slack in work and lax in discipline; waste and extravagance are serious and there is a bad tendency. Even in enterprises which are quite well run, there are, to varying degrees, problems of one kind or another. We must properly readjust the enterprises, particularly those key and influential enterprises which have many problems, in order to rapidly increase economic benefits.

The readjustment of enterprises must be carried out earnestly in accordance with the specific conditions of each enterprise. We must earnestly investigate and study, analyze the causes of problems, and seek solutions through consulting the cadres and masses of enterprises. We must not engage in formalism. In readjusting enterprises, we must first of all change the chaotic situation of management, collect the "idle money" and plug the loopholes. In readjusting the enterprises, we must pay attention to the following tasks: gradually strengthen the economic responsibility system; improve the management of enterprises; do a good job in the control of the overall planning, quality control and economic auditing; readjust the organization of work; do a good job in fixing the number of workers and production quotas; train the staff in a planned way; overcome the phenomenon of overstaffing and laxness; rectify and strengthen work discipline; strictly implement the system of rewards and punishment; and rectify financial discipline and strengthen the financial management system. The leading groups of enterprises are the key to the successful operation of enterprises. In readjusting enterprises, we must focus on the foregoing tasks and rectify the leading groups

of the enterprises, so that the enterprises have leading nuclei which uphold the four basic principles; they must adopt a correct work style, be united and militant, and be in their prime and have a good knowledge of their professions.

We must understand that we have a great potential to increase economic benefits. The key lies in our mental attitude. Different mental attitudes lead to different results. All our staff and workers, and first of all, all party members and party cadres, must understand that our enterprises are socialist enterprises and that they reflect the interests of the state, the collective and the individual.

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## SOME PROBLEMS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM IN INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 35-39

[Article by Zhou Taihe [0719 1132 0735]]

[Text] Comprehensively and Correctly Understand the Economic Responsibility System in Industrial Enterprises

Comprehensively and correctly understanding the economic responsibility system in industrial enterprises is important in ensuring the healthy development of the economic responsibility system.

The economic responsibility system is a theory which encompasses a wide range of activities. What is referred to here as the economic responsibility system is an assessment carried out by the state on industrial production and economic administration of enterprises, or by an enterprise on its staff and workers. First of all, it must be understood that the economic responsibility which an enterprise bears to the state, as provided for under the state plan, is to produce the maximum amount of marketable products and net receipts with a minimum amount of consumption of materials. In accordance with this provision, assessment of enterprises must be based not only on the standards of value such as profits, taxes and production cost but also on standards of utilization value such as output quantity, variety, quality of products and consumption of materials. Particularly since at present the prices of certain products differs widely from their real value, using profits as a standard to assess enterprises has many drawbacks, such as encouraging the pursuit of profits, "unequal apportionment of misery and joy" among the enterprises, and production and demand being disjointed from each other. Hence, to demand enterprises to fulfill the targets for profits and taxes and to be responsible for their profits or losses is but one important aspect of the economic responsibility system and represents only the initial demand. Implementation of the profit-and-loss responsibility system can take many forms. Full responsibility for task completion and for profits and losses is only one of the forms. Other forms include retaining a percentage of the profits, paying taxes in lieu of remitting profits and assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses. Hence, it is incorrect and not all-encompassing to interpret the economic responsibility system as the profit-and-loss responsibility system or, furthermore, as the system of assuming responsibility for task completion and for profits and losses, or, in other words, whenever the economic



responsibility system is mentioned, it is assumed to have reference to the latter system. Now that we have carried out such measures as expanding the decision-making power of enterprises, allowing a percentage retention of profits and paying taxes in lieu of remitting profits, and assuming sole responsibility for profits and losses, the distribution relationship between the state and an enterprise has been relatively stabilized and there is no need for making any changes at present. However, within enterprises, we should clearly define the economic responsibility of staff and workers to the enterprises. This will require the institution, and strengthening, of the post responsibility system of the workers and a responsibility system for the various levels of the administrative cadres. We then should make an encompassing assessment of staff and workers on the basis of the scope of the duties or functions of each post. This will ensure that enterprises carry on production work normally and achieve the best economic results.

The assumption of economic responsibility by an enterprise to the state, and by the staff and workers to the enterprise, should enable an enterprise and its staff and workers to obtain the economic benefits to which they are entitled. This requires that economic responsibility, economic results and economic benefits be closely linked. The economic benefits accorded to enterprises or to staff and workers should correspondingly be increased or decreased in accordance with whether the responsibility taken is heavy or light and whether the tasks have been completed well or not. Those found to have caused losses on account of their dereliction of duty or those found to have made illegal profits should be punished, thus gradually solving the problems of "eating from one big pot" and egalitarianism among enterprises and among staff and workers. But in actual implementation, owing possibly to the reform measures being irrational or to the failure to strictly adhere to the prescribed principles, or showing too much benevolent concern for others, often those who have performed poorly and those who have performed well both receive the same benefits, and frequently the former receive more benefits than the latter. This reemergence of the practice of "eating from one big pot" and of egalitarianism violates the original purpose of the reform and should be rectified.

Making enterprises assume the economic responsibility must be accompanied by giving them corresponding economic power and ensuring that their exterior conditions are normalized. Only in this way can we truly link together the responsibility, power and benefit of an enterprise. At present, owing to the restrictions imposed by the objective conditions, many enterprises have not yet obtained the economic power to which they are entitled. Many enterprises have been confronted with exterior conditions that are abnormal, and it is quite difficult for them to shoulder full responsibility for their business activities. Therefore, the task before us is to create the necessary exterior conditions and do the utmost to perfect the economic responsibility system so that the responsibility, rights and benefits of an enterprise are linked and economic responsibility will be taken on at each level from the leadership down to the enterprises, the workshops, and the teams and units.

During the current readjustment period, enterprises are encountering many difficulties and there are many factors leading to increased outlays and reduced income. On the other hand, it must also be noted that the potentials for

increasing receipts and decreasing outlays are still plentiful since the great majority of the enterprises, including some of the highly profitable ones, are still infected with such maladies as a low management level, backward foundation work, and much waste and extravagance. Leading comrades of the State Council have pointed out that for a prolonged period of time our processing enterprises have been making profits because the energy supply and raw materials have been cheap. However their profits were not derived from the processing work itself but rather from money not spent on energy and raw materials. With the prices of energy and of raw materials having been now increased, many of the processing enterprises are no longer making any profit but are instead incurring losses. This fully illustrates the vexing problem of the backwardness of our business management and the poor economic results. These words of the leading cadres of the State Council not only pointed out the existing problems in our industrial enterprises but also showed the direction of the efforts that the industrial enterprises should take. Confronted with these various problems, enterprises should strive to improve management and control, to reduce and even to stop waste and extravagance, to tap the potentials in various ways and to raise the economic results. The implementation of the economic responsibility system is precisely to encourage the enterprises to strive in this way, but, naturally, provision must be made for suitable economic benefits to the enterprises and their staff and workers. Here, we must put right the relationship between an increase in profits and the distribution of profits. Increasing profits occupies the first place. To seek wealth and profits, enterprises should first of all devote their efforts to tapping the hidden potentials and to technological renovation so as to increase the economic effects. Distribution of profits comes next and the state, the enterprises and their staff and workers should rationally distribute the increased profits. This order should not be reversed. Profit distribution should not occupy the first place; otherwise a situation will be created in which enterprises vie with the state for profits and fail to consider first how to tap the hidden potential, or to renovate technology, or to heighten the economic results, but turn their attention to ways and means to reduce the basic profit remittances to the state in order to increase their own share. To achieve this purpose, they will magnify the difficulties confronting them and magnify the factors contributing to a reduction in receipts and an increase in outlay. They may also reduce or even ignore the possibilities of tapping the hidden potential. This actually violates the purpose of implementing the economic responsibility system. During the years of the revolutionary war and in the construction of socialism, we were frequently confronted with various kinds of difficulties. Some of these difficulties were extremely serious, but in coping with the difficulties we did not lose sight of the advantageous conditions. Similarly, we can observe today the prosperous growth of agricultural production, the many accomplishments from readjusting and restructuring the national economy, and the great enthusiasm on the part of the broad masses of cadres and staff and workers. All this has given us inspiration and confidence, raised our enthusiasm, and urged us to tap the potential even more vigorously and overcome difficulties. We should not use difficulties as a pretext to cover up the backwardness of our work or to cover up the potentials that can be tapped. Implementation of the economic responsibility system should lead the broad masses of cadres and staff and workers to exerting their utmost efforts on improving management and control, tapping potentials, adapting new technology, improving the quality of the products and lowering the cost of

production. At the same time, we should exchange and broaden the effective experiences in this connection. Only in this way can we achieve the purpose of implementing the economic responsibility system.

Implementation of the economic responsibility system, enforcing the assumption of economic responsibility on the part of the enterprises to the state, setting up and strengthening the various kinds of post responsibility systems within enterprises, and enforcing the assumption of economic responsibility by the cadres, staff and workers to enterprises can greatly promote the improvement of business management of enterprises, set up and strengthen various rules and systems, reinforce the various types of basic work of enterprises and vastly improve the management level and technological level of enterprises as well as the economic results. Seen in this light, the carrying out of the economic responsibility system represents a breakthrough in reorganizing enterprises and also a breakthrough in reforming the industrial structure. It is a kind of capital construction work for the enterprises and embodies important significance in changing the backward appearance of our industries.

In socialist countries which have instituted the system of public ownership of the means of production, one important question which so far has not been answered satisfactorily is how to link up the interests of the enterprises with the results of their operations, how to link up the income of staff and workers with the fruits of their labor, and how to carry out the socialist principle of distribution which advocates from each according to his ability, to each according to his work, more work more pay, less work less pay, and no work no pay. At present, we are imposing on enterprises the profits and losses responsibility system in its various forms and on staff and workers the principle of remuneration according to work. Both measures represent attempts to solve, or to explore possible solutions for this important question. If the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce in the 1950's is taken to be as eliminating the system of private ownership of the means of production, forbidding pay without work, and banning the exploitation of man, then the restructuring in progress today is for the sake of solving the problem of "eating from one big pot," holding on to the iron rice bowl, and practicing egalitarianism following the institution of the system of public ownership of the means of production. At present, we are suffering from the ailment of scarcity, and more than that, of being egalitarian, and therefore we must turn to restructuring. This precisely explains that restructuring the organization structure carries a significance of no less importance than the transformation of privately owned industry and commerce.

While fully affirming the direction and significance of restructuring by implementing the economic responsibility system, we must note that under present conditions the implementation of this measure and ensuring its smooth and healthy development involves extremely difficult and complex tasks. At present, the national economy is still in the readjustment stage. Externally, the enterprises are confronted with conditions that are abnormal and unstable. The price situation and the tax system are both irrational, and the operational results of enterprises cannot be correctly reflected. Therefore, the implementation of this reform measure must be put in capable hands and must progress gradually and systematically. We can neither proceed unconditionally nor hope to achieve results at one stroke. We should timely grasp all the conditions so that

whenever problems arise we can adopt countermeasures and provide the necessary guidance. We cannot always resort to the citing or copying of past examples to replace quantitative analyses of the basic conditions of the moment. Leading cadres in the State Council have already warned us not to be muddle-headed or perceive only temporary advantages but fail to see the possible troubles ahead. This is indeed a timely reminder to us to grasp the conditions, to analyze problems, to take necessary measures, and to adroitly guide action according to circumstances.

There must be certain standards to judge whether the results of the economic responsibility system of an enterprise are good. In my opinion, some of the criteria are as follows: 1) whether the various assessment targets, particularly the quality, quantity and production cost targets specified in the state plan, have been comprehensively fulfilled; 2) whether economic results have improved notably; 3) whether, under the assurance of the state receiving the major share, the interests of the state, of the enterprises, and of the staff and workers have been duly taken into account; 4) whether for staff and workers the principle of "from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs" has been thoroughly implemented; 5) whether the various regulations and systems and basic work have been set up or strengthened; and 6) whether the various policies and regulations of the state have been observed.

There must also be certain criteria to assess the results of the implementation of the economic responsibility system in localities and government departments. In my opinion, there should be the following criteria: 1) on the basis of an overall analysis of the economic conditions, to examine whether fulfillment of the financial tasks of the state and the distribution between the state and the enterprises have been rational; 2) to examine whether the increase or decrease in output value, profits tax, labor productivity rate, production costs, salaries and wages, bonuses, welfare, and so on, has been normal; and 3) to examine whether the policies, decrees and regulations of the state have been observed.

Using these criteria, we can assess and judge the results of the implementation of the economic responsibility system in a locality, department or enterprise and be able to correctly guide the development of this work.

#### Macroscopically Strengthen Control and Supervision

In order further to develop and improve the economic responsibility system, we must strengthen control and supervision.

First, an important political task facing the entire party and the people of the whole nation is how to ensure the attainment of a balanced budget and a turn for the better in the finance and economy of the state. Seventy-five percent of the national revenue is now derived from industrial enterprises. Whether enterprises can tap the hidden potential and improve economic results has an important bearing on the entire national economy. Implementation of the economic responsibility system is one of the important reform measures. To meet the requirement of achieving a balanced budget, those enterprises enforcing the measures of retaining a percentage of the profits and being responsible for profits and losses should increase each year their basic profits remitted to the state. Those which have



earned profits in excess of the base amount should follow the principle of giving the major share to the state. Those whose base amounts are too low and those which retain an irrationally large percentage of their profits should have them readjusted. They should not retain as "earned benefits" benefits which do not belong to them; nor should they follow the example of enterprises which unscrupulously obtained large benefits, because this will create an unequal apportionment between enterprises and adversely affect the state's budget. Some comrades are of the opinion that it is extremely difficult to require an annual progressive increase in the base amount of the enterprises' remittances to the state. Indeed, how should we handle this problem? (1) The financial expenditures of the state are generally increased progressively each year. Hence, the profit remittances of enterprises should likewise be increased progressively each year. Otherwise, a balanced budget cannot be ensured. (2) A progressive annual increase in the profit remitted by an enterprise to the state should be taken as the basic task of the enterprise. Outside of those enterprises which suffered a drastic decrease in production in the course of readjustment, the great majority of enterprises should show a yearly progressive increase in production and profits; hence the base amount of their profit remittances to the state should likewise be increased progressively each year. In the case of those enterprises which have performed poorly in management and operation and which have indulged in extreme waste and extravagance, the base amount of their profit remittances should be accelerated. (3) It is true that under the present condition, in which various factors lead to a decrease in receipts but an increase in outlays, there is some difficulty in requiring enterprises to maintain a yearly increase in profits. But this hardship has also its good points, namely, compelling the enterprises to tap their hidden potential. We can readily see that at present the level of business management of the majority of enterprises is lower than that of enterprises during the first 5-year plan period and during the years 1965 and 1966 prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution." The waste and extravagance they have indulged in are rather enormous, but so are the potentials for increases in income. If once we saw that an enterprise could not easily grow and then proceed forthwith to reduce the base amount of the profit remitted, then we would be encouraging enterprises not to devote any efforts to tapping their hidden potential. In the end, the purpose of our reform could not be achieved.

Second, following the smashing of the "gang of four," much progress has been made in improving the standard of living of the people. In the 3 years from 1978 to 1980, the purchasing power of society increased greatly. The average annual growth rate of agriculture was 6.8 percent and that of light industry was 12.9 percent. Neither of these growth rates is low, but the supply of commodities for consumption has been insufficient and the increase in the production of consumer goods can meet only 50 percent of the increase in the purchasing power of society. Since 1980, the rate of increase in bonus payments by state-operated industrial enterprises has far exceeded the labor productivity rate, matching the growth rate in profits and in the gross value of industrial output. If the situation in which the increase in consumption far exceeds the increase in production continues, there will be serious consequences. First, if the increase in consumption exceeds the increase in production by too wide a margin, to the extent that they cannot be balanced despite vigorous efforts to develop production, then it will be difficult to control the rise in commodity prices and serious social problems will ensue. Second, with the increase in consumption caused by a lack of planning,

enterprises which have earned large profits will exceed the level of restriction and grant more bonuses, while enterprises not making much profits will resort to various ways and means to grant more bonuses. In this way, state revenue will be correspondingly decreased and the state will be unable to make overall arrangements for improving the people's standard of living. A portion of the populace who are in dire need of improving their standard of living might find it impossible to do so for a prolonged period of time. This might also cause social turmoil. Third, the relationship between living and construction cannot be properly handled. An overly rapid increase in consumption deprives the state of the necessary funds for construction, and makes it impossible for production to maintain sustained and stable growth or to achieve further progress. In the end, the improvement of the people's standard of living will be impeded. Therefore, the increase in consumption must be regulated. In granting bonuses, the situation in which they can only go up but not down must be changed. All localities, departments and enterprises in which profits have declined should correspondingly lower the level of granting bonuses. Increases in bonus payments cannot exceed the level of increases in production and profits. The regulations of the State Council should be strictly observed.

Enforcement of the economic responsibility system must be accompanied by the strengthening of supervision. Principally, we must put in full play the economic supervisory role of departments in charge of finance, banking and labor. Problems relating to finance, salaries and wages, bonuses, welfare and subsidies in enterprises should be handled by the department in charge, in cooperation with the departments handling labor, finance, and banking. These departments should jointly take up the task of supervising enterprises. At the same time, necessary rules and regulations should be formulated, and all violations of them should be severely dealt with.

Strengthening control and supervision and arousing the enthusiasm of the staff and workers of enterprises seem to be contradictory to each other. In reality, they are identical. When we mention control, we do not mean that we do not give enterprises the necessary power and benefits, but, rather, that the benefits must be distributed in accordance with certain principles. For example, in the distribution between the state and enterprises we must insist on the state having the larger share of the additional receipts, on the increase in bonus payments not exceeding the increases in output and profits, and so on. These principles must be firmly adhered to. If it is contended that insistence on these principles is, in effect, dampening the enthusiasm of the staff and workers and that to arouse their enthusiasm we must forgoe these principles, then this is entirely wrong. If these principles are not insisted on and the staff and workers are allowed to receive more benefits without any restrictions, then, on the macroscopic side, equilibrium will be lost, the restructuring work cannot be maintained, and, in the end, the benefits of staff and workers will be lost. This will adversely affect the positive attitude of the staff and workers. On the contrary, the strict observance of these principles and the maintenance of the macroscopic equilibrium will enable our restructuring work to progress smoothly and the benefits to staff and workers to steadily increase. This shows that insistence on these principles is precisely aimed at protecting the positive attitude of the staff and workers. Hence, taking the overall situation into account, control and supervision and arousing the positive attitude of the staff and workers proceed

along the same lines. This being the case, why is it that once the granting of bonuses is placed under control, in certain localities and enterprises, the positive attitude of the staff and workers is adversely affected? This is because, on the one hand, the bonus level is much too high, exceeding the growth of production and profits. On the other hand, in the course of granting bonuses, egalitarianism has been practiced and a bonus has become a supplementary wages. Hence, once it is restricted, the income of the staff and workers is reduced and naturally they express their resentment. If from the very beginning, the granting of bonuses is controlled fairly well so that the bonuses do not exceed the increase in production and profits, and if the principle of distribution according to work is insisted upon, then the staff and workers will have no cause for complaint. Therefore, that the control over the granting of bonuses affects the positive attitude of the staff and workers is not owing to the control itself. Rather, it is owing to the lack of control and the failure to abide by the principle of distribution according to work. If it is contended that in order to arouse the enthusiasm of the staff and workers, we should not control the granting of bonuses, then this kind of enthusiasm would not be lasting. When we mention supervising enterprises, we do not mean not granting enterprises any proper benefits. Rather, protection will be given to the benefits of those enterprises which are obtained in conformity with the principles of restructuring and the relevant regulations, whereas due punishment will be meted out to enterprises which have violated the regulations and laws. Indeed, if we do not supervise or deal with those enterprises which have engaged in illegal activities, we would be encouraging the wicked and discouraging the worthy ones. Thus, it can be seen that strengthening supervision protects the positive attitude of enterprises.

#### Strengthen Ideological and Political Education and Do a Good Job in Restructuring Enterprises

To ensure the healthy development of the economic responsibility system, we must strengthen the leadership and vigorously reinforce ideological and political work. So-called ideological and political work first of all requires enterprises and their staff and workers to proceed by taking the overall situation into account and be concerned with the long-term interests of the state as a whole. Whether it be carrying out the economic responsibility of enterprises to the state or of the staff and workers to the enterprises, we should always strengthen ideological and political work. In particular, the economic responsibility of an enterprise or of staff and workers must be linked with their own economic interests. If ideological and political education work is not done well, there is a tendency to strive for gains and forget about righteousness, and by only seeking partial and local interests and the interests of the individual one is liable to forget one's duties and political responsibility. At present, there are many contradictions in our work. They are: In our socialist state, we must continuously increase the income of staff and workers and gradually improve the people's standard of living. But, in the present comparatively stringent state of the national finances, we cannot improve the standard too much or too swiftly. This is one of the contradictions. Besides, we must keep bonuses, welfare, subsidies and piece-rate wages well under control. Those that are irrational must be abolished, and those that are too high or excessive must be adjusted. Not to do so will make it difficult to continue to subsist, but to do so will directly



affect the current interests of the staff and workers. This is another contradiction. Moreover, there are other phases of work which must be attended to, such as fixing the average advanced quota, determining rational piece-rate wages, regulating limits for granting of bonuses, revising quotas, and so on. If ideological and political work is not well done in advance, various difficulties will ensue. It is true that under the conditions of socialism, the principle of material interests must be affirmed, but it must be noted that material interests themselves include the interests of the whole as well as the interests of the part, long-term interests and current interests, collective interests and individual interests. Under the system of public ownership of the means of production, basically speaking, all these interests are identical, but at a given time and a given situation they might be mutually contradictory. This makes it necessary to demand that the enterprises and their staff and workers, while striving for material interests, make the interests of the part subservient to the interests of the whole, current interests to long-term interests, and individual interests to collective interests. This marks the basic difference between socialist material interests and capitalist material interests. If we consider only material interests and neglect ideological and political work, our economic work will go astray. In doing ideological and political work, we must change the former practice of engaging in empty talk. We must combine the work with the current problems in promoting the economic responsibility system and carry on education in a pointed and convincing manner.

To do the above tasks well, we must rely on the representatives' meetings of staff and workers so that we can habitually keep the enterprises and their staff and workers informed about the current economic situation of the state, including achievements and difficulties. This will gain for us the understanding and support of the staff and workers. At present, we should ensure that enterprises and their staff and workers correctly understand the implication of the economic responsibility system and guide the positive attitude of the enterprises and their staff and workers onto the path of strengthening basic work, improving management and operation, tapping the potential of enterprises, and effecting an overall fulfillment of the assessment targets under the state plan. We must teach the broad masses of cadres and workers to make more contributions to the state, to take into account the interests of the state, of the enterprise and of the individual, to keep cardinal principles in mind and take the overall situation into account, to be law-abiding, and to observe the various policies and regulations of the state.

Carrying out the economic responsibility system also requires that the restructuring of enterprises be strengthened. At present, in many enterprises, their basic work is poor, there is much chaos in management work, labor discipline is lax and illegal activities are rampant. If the work of restructuring enterprises is not grasped well, and we proceed to implement the economic responsibility system, then we might suffer such consequences as the unclear demarcation of duties, the unfair meting out of rewards and punishments, and even the disruption of the economy. For this reason, we must devote vigorous efforts to restructuring the enterprises in a down-to-earth manner, to rejuvenate spirit, and to bring into full play the sense of responsibility of the staff and workers as masters of their own affairs, so that the various phases of work in the enterprises will gradually be put on the right track and the economic responsibility system of the enterprises can proceed in the direction of reorganizing, consolidating, filling out and raising standards.



## THE POSITION AND ROLE OF FORESTS IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

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[Article by Xu Dixin [6079 3321 2450]]

[Text]

### I

Mankind's understanding of forests has gradually deepened along with the development of social productive forces. As early as the era when the method of rubbing sticks to make fire was first devised, people began to use timber from forests for fuel. Timber was later used for making farm tools, boats, carts and houses. The importance of timber has become more apparent in the modern era. Many undertakings such as papermaking, railroads, construction and coal exploitation require enormous quantities of timber. Yet the role of forests in protecting the environment and stabilizing the ecology is much more important than their role in providing timber. Some people's understanding of forests is still very limited because they have failed to understand the importance of forests. What they see and are concerned about is just timber or even firewood.

Every year the state and the people require an enormous amount of timber and therefore it is necessary to obtain timber from forests. But the question is: When we are felling trees in forests, do we consider replenishing the trees felled? Do we consider renewing the forests? Do we consider how to improve the forest cover in our country? Timber production quotas that are assigned by the state departments concerned every year must be completed. For example, according to the principle of rotational felling of trees, the 104 state forests in Sichuan Province can fell 760,000 cubic meters of timber every year, but the quotas fixed by the state departments every year are as much as 2 million or more cubic meters, more than double the rational logging volume. The Yichuan forest area of Heilongjiang Province has produced 150 million cubic meters of commercial timber over the past 3 decades and more; the consumption of tree deposits was more than 200 million cubic meters, which was more than double the volume of tree growth. Some other places regarded tree planting as routine work. These places reported to higher authorities every year the acreage and the number of trees and, having done this, considered that they had completed their tasks. Few people care about the management and survival rate of forest trees. Many places are said to have planted trees every year and yet there are no trees.

Therefore, it is imperative to warn that, in addition to considering how much timber must be produced each year, it is even more important to consider how to do a good job in planting trees and to spare no efforts to increase the forest cover of our country so that our forests will be protected, rehabilitated and developed.

Forests conserve water and soil, block wind and bind sand, regulate weather, and through photosynthesis create an enormous amount of organic matter, absorb carbon dioxide from the air and give off oxygen, purify air and decrease pollution. Therefore, forests constitute a decisive factor in absorbing solar energy, accumulating organic matter, maintaining the earth's biological cycle, and shaping regional weather and hydrological conditions and geological features. They also play a very important role in forming benign cycles in the ecological system. The role of forests is indispensable in developing agriculture, animal husbandry and water conservancy, as well as in developing industry and the mining industry, in purifying air in the urban areas and in protecting the health of the urban population.

## II

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. But agriculture cannot exist and develop without forests. Agriculture and forestry rely on and promote each other.

Forests regulate the volume of water. When the weather is dry, they play their roles in evaporation. In the same latitude and on the same acreage, the evaporation rate of forests is 50 percent higher than that of the ocean. Facts in many regions have proven that the rainfall in forest areas is greater than that in non-forest areas. Statistics for Xinchang Prefecture in Zhejiang Province show that the rainfall of the Luokengshan Mountain region, which has more than 30,000 mu of forests, is 31 percent higher than in the Huishan region that has no forests. When there is heavy rain, forests help control the rainwater. Investigations carried out by the Yunnan Tropical Plant Research Institute of the Chinese Academy of Sciences show that, following a heavy rain, the volume of the surface runoff of water in fields is 23.8 times more than that of forest areas while the volume of water and soil erosion is 1,301.7 times greater. How do forests control rainwater? Research carried out by experts in forestry shows that 10 to 30 percent of the rainwater is intercepted by the tree crowns (this situation is referred to by a poem of the Tang Dynasty, which reads: "After night of rain in a forest, the tops of trees are covered with water"), 5 to 10 percent of the water is retained and absorbed by tree branches and leaves, while the remaining 50 to 80 percent sinks into the ground to make up for underground water. The volume of the surface runoff water is generally 1 to 2 percent, with the maximum not exceeding 10 percent. The role of forests in distributing smoothly and regulating the volume of rainfall is very important in ensuring agricultural production and normal supplies of water resources.

Agricultural production requires suitable weather. It is true that at present we still cannot prevent and control sudden changes in the earth's atmosphere, but forests can considerably influence the changes in regional weather. Before liberation, the Xichang region of Sichuan Province was characterized by barren

hills. This region has been planting trees since 1958 and thanks to its efforts, it now has a big acreage of Yunnan pine trees. Weather conditions in this region have changed considerably. The relative humidity has increased from 58 percent in 1958 to 62.4 percent in the 1970's. Strong winds are also gradually decreasing in occurrence.

Forests are also in a position to effectively prevent water and soil erosion and consequently they are in a position to enable water conservancy facilities to fully display their advantages. Since the founding of the PRC, more than 84,000 reservoirs have been built in various places in the country, with a total capacity of more than 400 billion cubic meters. This is a great achievement never dreamt of in old China. But we have not done a good job of combining the construction of reservoirs with tree planting and consequently the acreage of farmland subject to natural disasters has continued to expand. During the first 5-year plan period, this acreage was on average 99 million mu per year, and during the fifth 5-year plan period this figure jumped to 146 million mu. The acreage of sand-affected farmland in the country was 1.6 billion mu during the first 5-year plan period, and this figure increased to 1.9 billion mu in the 1970's. But why, since we have built so many reservoirs, are they still unable to produce the expected results? One important reason is that we have neglected the important role of forests in conserving water and soil and in maintaining the ecological balance. Take the reservoir of the famous Sanmen Gorge for example. This reservoir will be able to fully display its role in restraining floods only if measures are taken to plant trees on the loess plateau in the upper reaches of the Huanghe River in order to prevent water and soil erosion. However, on the contrary, we have reclaimed land in the upper reaches of the river where we are carrying out extensive farming. As a result, when it rains heavily, the soil and seeds on this land are washed down to the river. After only a few years, a considerable part of the reservoir has already silted up. Many other reservoirs in other regions have also been silted up to some extent. Some reservoirs have been abandoned. But the situation in the Fengman reservoir of the Songhua River, the Zhangjiawan reservoir of Shaanxi Province and the Dingxi reservoir of Fujian Province is just the opposite. As measures are taken to protect forests and to carry out comprehensive management centered on planting trees, basically there has been no soil and sand washed down the slopes or into the reservoirs. The silted-up acreage of these reservoirs is only 0.2 to 1 percent of their total capacity. The situation in these reservoirs fully illustrates the role of forests in retaining water and soil. This role is also closely related to displaying the advantages and prolonging the service of reservoirs. Reservoir construction must be combined with tree planting.

Forests are able not only to decrease and even prevent silting but also to retain a tremendous amount of water. According to calculations, the volume of water retained by 50,000 mu of forests is equal to that of a reservoir with a capacity of 1 million cubic meters.

It is true that since people have to eat, they have to grow grain. The question is whether farming is carried out according to specific conditions. If we indiscriminately fell trees in places suitable for growing trees or in places that have been forests for a long time for the purpose of farming, we will not only ruin forests but also fail to increase grain output (by reclaiming wasteland we will

be able to increase grain output only for several years before the soil fertility is exhausted and the output drops). Practice over the past many years has proved that this is an objective law independent of people's will. Historically, the forests in Sichuan Province, which is known as a "land of plenty," have never been seriously damaged. In addition, measures were also taken in the early days of liberation to plant more trees. Therefore, in the past, water and soil erosion in this province was not serious. But this year the province was twice hit by serious floods. One of the main reasons for the serious natural calamities was that over the past 2 decades and more since the end of the 1950's, the forests were continuously destroyed by land reclamation. An article in RENMIN RIBAO of 19 August 1981 said: "Not long ago, the State Scientific Commission organized experts in agriculture, geology, soil and water conservancy from across the country to carry out investigations on the construction and ecological balance of hilly regions in Sichuan Province. They unanimously agreed that the ecological conditions in many regions of the province were unbalanced and that the main reason was that the forests in these regions had been damaged. At present, of the 193 counties throughout the province, only 12 have a 30 percent forest cover rate; the forest cover rate of nearly half of the 53 counties in the central part of the province is below 3 percent and in some places it is as low as less than 1 percent. Wusheng County was hit by floods this year. In the early 1950's, this county had as much as 150,000 mu of forests, but by 1975 this figure had dropped to only 844 mu. Topsoil erosion throughout the province is now very serious because of the excessive felling of forests. Surveys show that the water and soil erosion of the Jialing River, Tuojiang River and Fujiang River is very serious. The volume of silt washed away each year amounts to more than 250 million tons, which is equivalent to a 5-inch-thick layer of fertile topsoil on 1.6 million mu of farmland. Surveys carried out by the Wushan Hydrological Station on the Changjiang River show that the volume of silt washed down the river from Sichuan Province every year is more than 640 million tons, and this means that a 5-inch-thick layer of fertile topsoil of 5 million mu of farmland is washed away every year. Because the acreage of fertile farmland was decreasing and the fertility of soil was becoming poorer, measures were taken to open up wasteland at the expense of damaging forests or to reclaim land from rivers in a bid to increase grain production. Consequently, there appeared vicious circles in that the more the land was reclaimed the poorer it became, and with the land becoming poorer more land was reclaimed." This lesson is of great significance to various places across the country. To "concentrate on one thing only" by taking grain as the key link and to increase grain output at the expense of sacrificing forests and grassland and through the method of reclaiming land from rivers means more loss than gain for the whole national economy. Furthermore, such measures will create devastating calamities for our future generations (and even to the present generation).

### III

The role of forests is also indispensable to the development of animal husbandry.

Grasslands are the base for animal husbandry. Therefore, to protect grazing grounds and develop grasslands are important tasks in developing animal husbandry. One of the most serious calamities for grasslands is to be hit by sand-bearing winds. It is not enough to deal with sand-bearing winds by just relying



on the building of grazing grounds. It is true that grasslands are able to bind sand, but they cannot withstand the attack of windstorms. Therefore, in order to develop animal husbandry it is imperative to take such measures as developing windbreaks, forests for retaining water and soil, and forests for protecting grazing grounds. Forests are like protective belts. The velocity of wind that passes through forests is slowed down by a forest because most of the wind's power is absorbed by the trees. In addition, the enormous root system of forests is able to bind sand and soil and consequently is able to transform shifting sand into fixed sand. After long encroachments by rainwater, leaves in forests and other plants are decomposed by nodule bacteria and, as a result, fixed sand gradually becomes fertile soil.

The forests in the northwest, north and western part of northeast China have almost vanished because they have been despoiled for a very long historical period; deserts have been expanding in these areas. In the early days after the founding of the PRC, the acreage of sand was 1.6 billion mu, but now it has increased to 1.9 billion mu. Thus over 3 decades, the acreage of sand has increased by 300 million mu, an average of 10 million mu per year. This acreage of sand is still expanding. For example, the southern tip of the sandy wastes of the Eroduosi grassland has now expanded to loess areas, while the northern tip has drawn near to riverbed plains and, as a result, large areas of farmland have been affected by sand. It is estimated that if things continue like this, the Muwu desert will link up with the Kubuqi desert within 50 years. The deserts in some areas in Xinjiang have also expanded seriously.

Facts prove that planting trees in a big way is an important measure in restoring the ecological balance in grasslands. For example, the Bayan Tal people's commune in Bairin Right Banner in Ju Ud League, Nei Monggol, has closed off an area of 240,000 mu for growing grass since 1975. It has also built 16 shelterbelts with a total length of 128 li and completed 44 channels for water conservancy projects. The situation in this people's commune has improved drastically after 5 years of hard work. The grass on its grasslands is as high as 30 centimeters and the output of the grasslands is as high as 250 jin per mu, 5 times higher than that of the past record. In 1949, there were only 20,000 head of livestock but this figure has now increased to 100,000. Yulin Prefecture in Shaanxi Province has planted 7 million mu of trees since liberation and, as a result, the forest cover has increased from 0.9 percent before liberation to 11.5 percent. As much as 3 million mu of shifting sand has been fixed and consequently this prefecture has been able not only to protect farmland but also to restore animal husbandry. There are other places that have made achievements in fighting sand. But the situation in the above-mentioned two places shows that grazing areas can be rehabilitated and developed as long as we do a good job in developing important links such as planting trees, developing grasslands and building shelterbelts (but that does not mean that other links must be neglected).

#### IV

With the development of industrialization and the concentration of population in cities, environmental pollution will become more and more serious. An urban population has to exhale an enormous amount of carbon dioxide while factories are discharging enormous quantities of waste gas and water every day. Vehicles

are also discharging enormous quantities of waste gas. These worsening atmospheric conditions are hazardous to people's health. Environmental pollution is common in various countries of the world, and this problem also exists in many of our cities.

Forests have a great role to play in protecting the environment and reducing pollution. Of course, cities cannot be transformed into forest areas, but to plant more trees in cities in a planned way will help purify the air to a certain extent. Through photosynthesis, trees absorb carbon dioxide and discharge oxygen. This function constitutes a dialectical relation in the ecological balance because it opposes and yet also complements the carbon dioxide that is discharged and the oxygen that is absorbed by the people. According to research by botanists, 1 hectare of broadleaf forest that is in its growing period on the average absorbs 1 ton of carbon dioxide a day and at the same time produces 730 kilograms of oxygen. Based on the calculation that an adult on the average absorbs 0.75 kilograms of oxygen and discharges 0.8 kilograms of carbon dioxide every day, then each person on the average needs 10 square meters of forests to maintain the ecological balance.

Forests can also play a role in sterilizing and purifying water. Research by botanists show that many kinds of trees such as maple, bay and Canadian poplar are able to absorb from the air elements that might cause cancer such as aldehyde, ketone, alcohol and ether. Every hectare of fir forest can absorb 32 tons of dust every year, pine trees can absorb 36 tons, and forests of maple and oak can absorb 68 tons. Some trees, such as birch, cypress, eucalyptus, Chinese parasol and fir, are able to kill such bacteria in the air that cause diphtheria, typhoid fever and dysentery. Forests can also eliminate noise. Experiments show that a 40-meter-wide forest belt is able to decrease noise by 10 to 15 decibels. In short, forests are very important in protecting the health of the urban population.

## V

The forest cover rate in our country is only 12.7 percent, 42 percent lower than the average world figure of 22 percent. Such a situation is incompatible with the vast areas and huge population of our country. Therefore, to rehabilitate and develop forests is extremely important in developing our socialist national economy. How are we to rehabilitate and develop our forests? Following is a summing up of the opinions of many comrades:

1. Over the past 2 decades and more, forests in many places were destroyed in opening up barren land in an effort to increase grain production. Actually, these measures did not increase grain output very much. Therefore, many places now intend to "rehabilitate forests at the expense of farmland." But this will cause various problems because forests were destroyed in opening up wasteland for farming for more than 2 decades. Therefore, this work must be carried out in a planned way. Part of the slopes with higher grain output may continue to raise per-unit output but at the same time can gradually be devoted to planting trees and growing grass. Slopes that are virtually producing no grain must soon be used for forests. At the same time it is necessary to proceed from reality in properly readjusting purchasing tasks assigned by the state so as to lighten the burden on

the peasants. When necessary, grain may be shipped in from neighboring areas so as to guarantee that the commercial grain ration of commune members in forest areas is not lower than that in grain-producing areas.

2. The indiscriminate felling of trees must be prohibited. The initiative of the broad masses of people in planting trees must be fully aroused. Tree planting must be encouraged in both rural and urban areas. One of the important questions in this respect is that the autonomy over mountain forests and trees must be defined and the responsibility system in forest production must be implemented. It is necessary to abide by the "forest law" (draft) and to follow the directives and decisions concerned of the party Central Committee and the State Council, and to conscientiously implement the policies which stipulate that the forests grown by the state, people's communes and production teams belong respectively to these parties and that the trees planted by commune members around their houses or in places designated by production teams belong to the individual peasants. The state-owned barren hills and barren lands near people's communes and production teams that are beyond the ability of the state to manage may be used for forestry by people's communes and production teams. The trees belong to the people's communes and production teams but the autonomy remains unchanged. Under the premise that the autonomy of forests remains unchanged, the production and management of the forests of the people's communes and production teams may be assigned to teams and individual households by using the management method of linking remuneration to output.

3. Forest construction must be carried out by combining felling and planting, with the principle of planting as the foundation. Felling and planting complement each other, and we cannot stress one aspect while neglecting the other. The wrong tendency of paying more attention to felling trees and neglecting planting, and of seeking intermediate interests and forgetting long-term interests, must be corrected. In this way, we will be able to realize Comrade Zhou Enlai's instruction: "The more trees we fell, the more and the better trees we will have; with the continuous existence of green hills we will be able to continuously use them."

4. Trees must be planted according to specific conditions. In fact, this method represents forestry ecology. For example, Chinese firs are fast-growing trees, but they can grow fast only on humid and thick tropical soil. After 1958, the department concerned disregarded the conditions for the growth of such trees and indiscriminately ordered all provinces in the south to plant them. As a result, the trees that were planted in the southern parts of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region and Guangdong Province, which have high temperatures and pronounced drought season, and on slopes with a thin layer of subtropical soil and strong sunshine, began to grow more slowly 10 years after they had been planted. Consequently, these trees became "small and old." More seriously, some regions issued orders to plant nothing but fir trees. As a result, all existing broad-leaf trees were felled from hills, causing serious water and soil erosion. These examples fully show that if we use arbitrarily uniform methods in planting trees, we cannot obtain satisfactory results. Whether we are to plant trees for the purpose of retaining water and soil or of providing water resources or timber, or whether we are planting trees for the purpose of forming shelterbelts or fuel forests--everything must be done according to specific conditions or we will be punished by nature.

5. We must fix rational purchasing prices for timber. This problem must be solved by considering the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. The price of hills is too low, and this situation has become one of the reasons why forests are not protected well and why their development has been slow. In some places, the price of hills per cubic meter of timber is as low as a dozen yuan, and when this timber is felled and sold to the state, the price is only a few dozen yuan. The masses hold that it is better for them to turn the timber into firewood and sell it rather than selling the timber to the state at such a price. Therefore, to solve the problem of the purchasing price of timber is important for the development of forestry.

6. Some forest areas are subject to frequent fires and others are damaged by rats. Rats not only eat tree seeds but also seedlings. These pests are threatening forests more seriously with each passing day because birds and other animals have been indiscriminately trapped and hunted. The number of rat-eating animals such as sables and yellow weasels and other wild animals is decreasing and, as a result, it is difficult to control rats in forest areas. The reason for indiscriminate hunting of wildlife is that the animal fur business is under multiple management, the purchasing price of fur is high and the management of wildlife is divorced from the purchase of wildlife products. The management of wildlife is now undertaken by the forestry department while the purchasing of wildlife products is undertaken by a number of departments such as the foreign trade department, native products department and supply and marketing department. These purchasing departments one-sidedly stressed that they had to purchase more and disregarded the importance of protecting wildlife and of making use of other living things. This practice only spoils the ecological balance and, therefore, it must be immediately stopped.

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## SELECTING MIDDLE-AGED AND YOUNG CADRES FOR ADVANCEMENT IS AN IMPORTANT ISSUE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 44-45

[Article by Liu Lanbo [0491 3482 3134]]

[Text] Selecting middle-aged and young cadres is a strategic task as well as a glorious duty of our old comrades. It is beneficial to the party's cause to allow the cadres who are honest and upright, who have vocational knowledge and organizational talents and who are in their prime to be elected to leadership positions, and to let old comrades who are physically weak retire. Originally, we did not think about being officials at all when we joined the revolution. Subsequently, we won the revolution and built the people's political power. We became "officials" because our work required us to do so. But we did not think of retiring. In fact, the question of whether to retire is independent of an individual's will. It is something that must accord with the party's cause and be decided by the organization. Second, we must know whether our state of health and vigor is sufficient for the work entrusted to us by the party and the people.

I resumed work in 1979 after the smashing of the "gang of four." I thought of devoting more efforts to the forefront, but I am getting on in years and my physical condition is worsening. In the past, I always kept myself busy and spent a great deal of time visiting various places. Now I am not strong enough to go out and do this. I feel that my ability is not equal to my wishes. Moreover, the work we carry out today is more complicated and more difficult than before. It will not do just to be able to consider and say something. What is more important is that we must be able to walk out of our office and go down to the grassroots level. If we do not often go down to the grassroots level, many things will be left undone or will be done badly. And even if we are able to go down to the grassroots level, if we do not understand the situation well, or if we do not know how to grasp the essentials of our work, things will not be done well. For many years I have realized that a cadre must not only study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the party's principles and policies, but also have vocational scientific knowledge and skills that correspond to his duties. If he is not familiar with the work he is in charge of, he will not be able to grasp the essentials of the work, and it will be very hard for him to push his work forward.

Large numbers of new people are needed for the development of the party's cause. This is an objective law. Some comrades of good will advised me: "Please do not be eager to withdraw from the vanguard. We would rather have you lie in the hospital and favor us with your ideas. We will handle all matters. With you in the forefront, it is easier to get our work done." What these comrades said is not unreasonable. But I have considered that it will cause delay in our work and affect the growth of our cadres. The average age of the members of the party group of the Ministry of Electric Power Industry is 64. Many old comrades are quite advanced in years, but they have boundless lofty ideals. I maintain that the lofty ideals of our old comrades should mainly be devoted to discovering talented people, to conscientiously selecting middle-aged and young cadres, to doing a good job in passing on experience, giving help and setting examples in training new hands and to bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause.

So at the beginning of this year I made up my mind to withdraw to the second front.

Training and selecting middle-aged and young cadres for advancement are really important issues that must be grasped firmly. We must grasp these issues firmly, because several years will pass in a flash. Some leading comrades of the party Central Committee have said many times that it is excusable for old comrades to make mistakes other than those of not grasping firmly the work of training and selecting successors. What they said is quite correct. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," I have often thought about how to intensify the building of leadership groups at all levels in the electric power departments. My experience over the past decades has made me feel that without a good leadership group, the implementation of a correct line cannot be guaranteed. This is a good time for training and selecting successors. During the 10 years of catastrophe, everyone posed in the political arena. They had a clear image of what they looked like. This is a very favorable condition. Of course, we will meet with various obstacles.

We often hear various comments when we select young cadres for leadership positions. How should we look at this problem? I think that it is not strange but, on the contrary, inevitable for such a phenomenon to emerge, because the influence left by the 10 years of catastrophe has not yet been completely eliminated. Theoretically, everyone supports the party Central Committee's decisions on selecting fine middle-aged and young cadres. But when it comes to selecting specific persons, they have different views. If a young cadre is not promoted, no one has any opinion, and everyone can still say that this cadre is a good cadre. But when it comes to promoting this cadre, opinions begin to flood in. People say "he is conceited and self-satisfied," "he is a favorite of comrade so-and-so," "he has made no special contribution" and he has made mistakes and has shortcomings of various kinds. The problem now is that our leading comrades must do the work of analysis. For instance, the problem of being conceited must be analyzed. Some young comrades really have this shortcoming, but some are not necessarily conceited and complacent. In my opinion, some controversies over differing opinions are in fact controversies between professionals and nonprofessionals. For instance, it is correct for some comrades to actively express their views according to vocational requirements. But if you are not so expert and hold on to your own views, saying that you have been able to get

along that way for several years, how can you say that they are conceited and complacent because they do not accept your old stuff? Some comrades who honestly hold on to their own views are often regarded as conceited and complacent. This is, of course, unfair. Let me cite another example. We must make a concrete analysis of a cadre who committed mistakes in the "Great Cultural Revolution." In the exceptional historical conditions at that time, some matters were arranged in a unified way by the higher authorities according to the organizational system. The comrades in the leadership position at a lower level or some other comrades carried out the orders without his knowing it. In such a case, this comrade should not be held responsible for the mistakes. Of course, I do not mean that these comrades had no shortcomings or made no mistakes, nor do I intend to absolve them from their shortcomings and mistakes. The problem is that we must treat a cadre honestly and in an all-around way. To solve this problem well and achieve a comparatively unanimous viewpoint, the important thing is that the leading comrades must conscientiously set the facts straight, because something might often be a rumor based on groundless accusations and hearsay evidence. If we indiscreetly regard rumors as evidence in handling a problem, it is inevitable that we will not do our work well. If you have set the facts straight and know fairly well how things stand, you can convince others. After the facts have been set straight, we must analyze them and distinguish the right from the wrong and the contributions from the mistakes. We must dare to be fair. Only in this way can young cadres be selected for advancement and can they have a firm foothold after advancement.

As to whether young cadres can shoulder heavy responsibilities after their promotion, or as to whether we have selected the right persons, we cannot be definite about these things yet, and they remain to be proved in practice. For young people to grow up to be useful and to be able to endure the test of practice, it is very important that our old comrades do a good job in passing on experience, giving help and raising them. Another important factor is that young comrades should enhance their vigor, work hard and with a will to make our country strong, pay attention to overcoming their own shortcomings and modestly learn from old comrades. Both these factors are indispensable.

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HAVING THEIR ROOTS IN THE FERTILE SOIL OF EVERYDAY LIFE--ON THE PORTRAYAL OF SOME FIGURES IN 'DEEP IN THE TIANSHAN MOUNTAINS'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 46-48

[Article by Lin Binkui [2621 2430 1145]]

[Text] Whether in the form of short story or drama, "Deep in the Tianshan Mountains" represents a vigorous attempt to portray the new image of the army men of the 1980's and to extol the new socialist man. It represents a flower which has grown from the fertile soil of everyday life, in which its roots are embedded.

The Portrayal of the Image of the Army men of the New Age Is a Necessary Facet of Everyday Life

For many years we have been hearing this remark: "Today's soldiers are quite different from those of the past!" This remark makes me understand the message of our times: people want to see in works of art the new, changed face and image of army men.

Many works of art have been attempting to solve this problem. In some works of art we can see figures who wear clothes of the 1980's and also say and do what people of the 1980's say and do. However, the audience and readers do not feel that they are real!

Where does the problem lie? We must go into life to seek the solution to a problem which arises from everyday life.

Deep in the untraversed Tianshan Mountains, cold winds were blowing the long strips of cloth bearing an elegiac couplet, and white flowers like snowflakes lined the inside of the barracks. Comrade Yao Hucheng, deputy battalion commander of a certain unit of the Capital Construction Engineering Corps, had just unfortunately sacrificed his life in construction work. He had been a deputy to the 4th NPC and the 11th national congress of the party, and had been praised as "a good Lei Feng-type cadre." After hearing a brief account of this comrade's life, I was filled with strong emotion as if I had suddenly seized on a strong voice of our times. My respect for this hero and my strong desire for creation prompted me to go to all the construction sites of the Tianshan highway. I heard numerous moving stories about the heroism displayed by him and his comrades-in-arms. On snow-covered peaks towering into the sky, there are rocks stained with



this martyr's blood. In the rarefied air at more than 3,000 meters above sea level, Comrade Yao Hucheng fainted numerous times in the tunnel in which he worked. He always started working again as soon as he regained consciousness. I knew about his remittance of 1,000 yuan to the people's commune and I saw the things he had left behind--several army uniforms and the handkerchief he had made from the gauze taken from old gauze-masks....

I had a fervent desire to create. However, when I began to write, my fervor gradually cooled. The available material from everyday life seemed to be familiar though it could arouse strong emotions. Had not Lei Feng, Wang Jie and Ouyang Hai performed such deeds long ago? Could this material alone help us portray a new image of the army men of the 1980's?

I was at a loss!

Shortly afterward, the publisher of JIEFANGJUN WENYI [PLA LITERATURE AND ART] organized a class to study the writing of short stories. The class conscientiously studied and analyzed some famous works of military literature, and discussed in particular "how to portray the new image of the army men of the 1980's."

Naturally, successful works of literature and art have their secrets of success. However, a typical work of our times must portray "our particular" typical figure which differs from those of other times. We must not only be in command of the material of everyday life, but must also understand and digest it and seek from it "our particular" typical figure of the 1980's. From this viewpoint, I discovered the key obstacle to my achievement of a breakthrough.

Like a golden key of wisdom, the leap in cognition opened the door of my storehouse of everyday life. I took the remote areas of Tianshan as the typical background and Yao Hucheng and his comrades-in-arms as the genes or seeds on the basis of which I portrayed the new image of army men. I repeatedly attempted to understand and refine everyday life and to discover the bright aspects of our times as reflected in the army men of our generation.

I was eventually rewarded by everyday life.

I have come to realize that the army men of the 1980's differ from both Dong Cunrui, who lived in times of war, and Zhao Dada, who lived under the neon lights. Compared with Dong and Zhao, Yao Hucheng and his comrades-in-arms of this generation have had a greater variety of experience. The contemporary times have left deep scars in their souls, but this has not prevented them from becoming heroes. They have not collapsed. They represent a generation who are willing to think and explore, who have ideals and who open up the path to the four modernizations.

Some people do not like certain aspects of the army men of our times. Actually, a broad field of vision, diverse interests and an active mind are precisely the characteristics of the army men of the 1980's. This shows that the army men of today have stronger and more pressing demands for cultural life, scientific knowledge and all kinds of new reforms. None of these things is negative if it is not excessive. I know a woman soldier who is very particular about clothes and who likes to dress up. However, she is not afraid of hard work; when her

father returned to town on vacation, she insisted on staying in the border area to continue to serve in the army. Therefore, I included a dancing party in my plot. I have the army men in my story wear well-ironed army uniforms and glossy, well-shined boots.

Again and again I experienced the ocean of life as I plunged deeply and groped about. I more and more distinctly felt the throbbing of the pulse of the times. A new image of the army men, represented by Zheng Zhitong, became increasingly clear in my mind, standing tall before my eyes.

#### A New Development of Traditional Beauty

In real life, there are seeds of the image of a new generation of army men like Zheng Zhitong, and there are also seeds of numerous outstanding figures like Yu Haizhou. In the drama version of "Deep in the Tianshan Mountains," the artistic figure of Yu Haizhou is very significantly developed and upgraded in comparison with his figure in the story. This development and upgrading was not some invention of the writer. The words and deeds of numerous fine people in real life contributed to the construction of this figure's flesh and bones.

These fine people include the first political instructor to coach Yao Hucheng when Yao joined the army; the old political commissar who, despite his chronic disease, trudged through snow to explore the path in the foremost line of the advance party, with a pot of medicine tied to his waist; and also the deputy regimental commander, who frequently expressed concern for Yao Hucheng's personal problems but who was still living apart from his wife. In the story, right until the moment of his martyrdom, Yu Haizhou could not even spare time to take the medicine his wife had brought. This part of the plot is a real depiction of the life of the model political instructor, Comrade Li Shanguo, before his glorious martyrdom.

In everyday life, heroes unknown to the public did not serve as a contrast to Yao Hucheng. In the drama, Yu Haizhou also does not serve to highlight the "number one" figure. I devoted much effort to portraying Yu Haizhou in order to reveal how the political instructors of the earlier generation preserve and carry forward, under the new historical conditions, the fine traditions of the people's army that took shape in the protracted revolutionary struggle. Over the past several decades, this army has been entrusted with the people's hope. During those years in which it fought in the north and south on many fronts, its men advanced wave upon wave, their bravery in the face of hardship and death providing material for numerous magnificent epics. Under the neon lights in peacetime, the political instructors of our army resist corrosive influences and keep themselves apart from evils, preserving and carrying forward the proletariat's strong revolutionary fighting will. These virtues represent the crystallization of the lofty sentiments of the people's army nurtured by our party, as well as the foundation on which we are now building spiritual civilization among the troops. I feel that to reveal the mental beauty of today's new personalities, we must pay adequate attention to the traditional beauty of our party and army. Without the latter, the former will be like water without a source or the trunk of a tree without roots.

In the drama, I have striven to portray Yu Haizhou as a model political worker of our party at the grassroots level. However, I have also made my portrayal faithful to the true colors of everyday life, without artificially adding vague preaching or so-called "magnificent feats" of heroism. I portrayed him as a common old soldier who is humorous, optimistic, ready to make progress and amiable, with virtues of being willing to work hard and not being easily upset by criticism. Zheng Zhitong was placed under him when Zheng joined the army. Later, Zheng was promoted and became his superior, and had to take courses of further study. Yu Haizhou had to take on the heavy duties of leadership but he did not complain. This way of portraying the figures enables the audience to perceive Yu Haizhou's lofty virtue of being willing to serve as a ladder by means of which someone else can advance, and also to perceive the process of Zheng Zhitong's growth.

If the "Great Cultural Revolution" is taken as the dividing line which separates those who joined the army in the earlier historical period from those who did so in the later historical period, then Yu Haizhou and Zheng Zhitong actually represent the army men of two different periods. For one thing, Yu Haizhou educates Zheng and helps him mature, and for another, Yu undergoes a process of cognition through which he comes to understand certain things about Zheng which he originally did not understand. He originally did not understand why Zheng was infatuated with Li Qian and he "determined to be a successful matchmaker," getting Zheng to befriend Xue Qinglian. However, shortly before his death, he persuades Li Qian to stay with Zheng to build the Tianshan Mountain region. This reflects a process of cognition.

#### Bravely and Correctly Reveal Contradictions

Another aim of going deep into everyday life is to discover and study new contradictions in our social life. Yu Haizhou represents one who advances and who carries forward our army's fine traditions at the turn of a historical period, while the company commander, Han Huaizhi, represents one who falls behind. We have not evaded contradictions. We have depicted the replacement of old contradictions by new ones, and the deterioration of and change in Han Huaizhi's fighting will owing to the influence of unhealthy tendencies in society in a new historical period.

Generally speaking, in the 1950's and 1960's, our troops were mainly recruited from among the peasants, with a sprinkling of a small number of young students. Although not highly educated, they were willing to do solid work and to endure hardship. Today, many of these comrades have become leaders and grassroots commanders of our troops. I have contacted many comrades who have always felt at ease serving in the border areas. They often compare life in the army with rural life and simply think that "training and construction work is not really arduous. Does one not have to work in the same way in the countryside?"

However, in today's real life, there are also cadres, like company commander Han Huaizhi, who are not content to serve in the army and who strive in many ways to change their occupations and find jobs in the cities. Honestly speaking, this problem requires deep thought. Do we dare to reveal this change and give

expression to this contradiction? Will we thus vilify the officers and men of our army?

The drama gives an answer in the affirmative. Han Huaizhi always gets drunk and quarrels with his wife. He even takes advantage of the adulterous relations between his wife's younger sister and Tian Ye to go to Beijing "through the back door." The objective realities of life tell us that these problems of Han Huaizhi's are representative of those of a certain type of people today and also greatly affect the modernization of our army. If we were to evade or gloss over these contradictions, our literature and art would not be realistic and would be devoid of fighting spirit.

Originally, in the draft script for the drama, it was planned to have company commander Han demobilized. Later, our leading cadres pointed out that demobilization is a normal phenomenon in the building of our army and it is wrong to consider demobilization as a means of punishing cadres. The revision of the plot proved to be good. I benefited from this revision. I have realized that in reflecting the real life of the troops of the 1980's and in portraying various typical figures in literature and art, we must be faithful to everyday life and boldly expose new contradictions, but we must not indiscriminately copy everything in everyday life. In portraying typical figures, we must adopt the stand of our party and the people and refine everyday life.

Moreover, a problem which perplexed me for a certain period of time has been solved. I have realized that advocating the portrayal of the new socialist man does not imply that we are only allowed to sing praises without exposing anything bad, and does not imply leading literary and artistic creation into the blind alley of creating works which are "lofty, magnificent and complete in form, but unrealistic, false and empty in content."

Singing praises and exposing evils constitute a unity of opposites. When we assess whether a work is realistic or of good quality, the criterion is not whether it sings praises or exposes evils. The correct criterion should be the author's attitude toward everyday life. Everyday life nurtures literature and art, and in turn literary and art works must be tested by everyday life. Literature and art must always have their roots in the fertile soil of everyday life and must be continually tested in the stormy waves of everyday life. This is the road of creation which we call revolutionary realism.

To sum up, it is a serious and long-term historical task for those whose work is concerned with the literature and art that depicts our army to portray the new image of the army men of the 1980's and to praise the new generation of socialist men. The success of "Deep in the Tianshan Mountains" in terms of literary and art creation cannot be divorced from the ideological guidance provided by the party committee of the Urumqi Units, in particular by the party committee of their political department; their efforts to create conditions for my going deep into everyday life; and also the joint endeavor of all the comrades of the drama group under the Political Department of the Urumqi Units. Reviewing the steps I took when I embarked on my present career, I deeply feel that we can forever preserve youthfulness in literary and art creation only if we follow the orientation



specified by Comrade Mao Zedong in his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," integrate ourselves with the new masses of the new times, continuously remold our world outlook, firmly link our blood vessels to the heart of everyday life, and let the pulse of literature and art throb with the heartbeat of the times.

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## NEW CHANGES IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF YANGGU COUNTY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 inside back cover

[Article by Chen Chumpu [7115 2504 2528] and Gu Zhongcheng [6253 1813 6134]]

[Text] Since implementation of the agricultural production responsibility system in Yanggu County, people have seen changes in the following three aspects:

### 1. The Relationship Between the Cadres and the Masses Is Better Than Before

The number of cadres in production brigades and production teams has been reduced by 50 percent. The cadres who seldom engaged in physical labor in the past have now gone in for farmwork. Quite often their hands are covered with mud and they are drenched with sweat. Cadres' regular participation in physical labor will help to gradually remove their estrangement from the masses. Formerly, in the Liyuan production brigade of Guodiantun commune, when a fruit ripened, the cadres not only picked it and ate it at will, but they used it as a kind of "gift to be given to others" to "cotton up to" them. This cost over 1,000 yuan every year. Since implementation of the responsibility system of "giving full responsibility to the household," the cadres have been ill at ease every time the commune members have asked them to eat the fruit they pick from trees. The masses say that our cadres are good cadres and that it was the system of "eating out of the same big pot" which spoiled them and divorced them from the masses. Now the production responsibility system has made them return to the ranks of the masses.

### 2. A New Step Forward Has Been Taken in Scientific Cultivation

Some scientific and technological methods which could not be popularized by administrative orders in past years have now been adopted, popularized and used by the commune members in production. In 1978, only 3,000 mu of land was used to plant the fine variety of cotton known as "Lumian No 1." In 1980, the 324,000 mu of cottonfields throughout the county were planted with fine varieties of cotton. The per-mu output of ginned cotton rose from 50 jin to 137 jin. The total output increased by 2.4 times above the original figure. Peasant technicians have now become much sought after. People look for them in the fields, stop them on the road and wait for them at their homes. Once a discussion is started, it will last half a day. Books about agricultural science and technology are also in great demand. Take "Handbook of Cotton Planting" as just one example; more than 80,000 copies of it have been sold throughout the county since the spring of this

year. The peasants like the forums on agricultural science and technology held at the county and commune levels through a wired-broadcasting network. They are often carried away by the program as if they were listening to Liu Lanfang telling "The Story of Yue Fei." Looking at the increasing rate at which agricultural machinery is purchased, we see that during the 3 years from 1976 to 1978, Yanggu County purchased, on average, 610 various machines (or parts) every year. But since last year, the whole county has purchased 17,917 machines (or parts). In the past, Yanggu County basically relied on state loans for the purchase of machinery. Last year, the loans provided for the purchase of agricultural machines and equipment were 20 percent less than in the preceding years. The agricultural machinery of the communes and brigades was basically purchased with funds raised by commune members. In the past, when a machine was out of order or when a motor-pumped well silted up, very few people cared about it. Since implementation of the production responsibility system, technicians have been so responsible that they have been willing to spend a great deal of time in looking for even a screw that dropped off a machine.

### 3. Agricultural Production Is Beginning To Embark on the Path Where Things Are Done According to Natural and Economic Laws

Many years ago, the Lianhuachi production brigade of Jindouying people's commune was well-known as "brigade of the three reliables" throughout the whole county. But from 1971 to 1979, the production brigade lived on 1.7 million jin of its grain resold to it by the state and had outstanding debts of 180,000 yuan. Every commune member had an average income of from 20 to 30 yuan. One-third of the labor force had left. Since implementation of the responsibility system of "fixing output quotas for each household," they have fully utilized the excellent natural conditions for collective and private planting of lotus roots, reeds and trees and for breeding pigs, sheep, chickens, rabbits, cattle, horses, donkeys and mules. Within a year they have caused an upswing in their economy. Last year they paid off the loans and turned 81,000 jin of grain and 190,000 jin of cotton over to the state. Every commune member had an average income of 148 yuan and 50 percent of the peasant households had savings.

The changes that have taken place in the Lianhuachi production brigade are typical of the whole county. Several years ago, in order to become a "Dazhai-type county," many foolish things that "wasted money and manpower" were done in Yanggu County in disregard of the actual conditions there. Take the "great battle" for farm capital construction in 1976 as an example. It cost the whole county 5 million yuan and destroyed more than 1,000 mu of vegetable plots. But in that year each commune member had an average income of only 37.7 yuan. The outstanding loans were as high as 2 million yuan, and the county became "heavily indebted." Since the third plenary session, the production responsibility system has been implemented, and the initiative of the commune members for seeking truth from facts and for doing things in light of local conditions has been brought into full play. In 1980, the county's total income in agriculture increased by 70.6 percent over that of the previous year, and each commune member's average income rose from 59 yuan to 159 yuan.

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